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THE SOUL OF CHRIST AND THE CROSS OF CHRIST

I

IMPRESSION AND CONFESSION

ONE reason why the Church does not impress the world more may be because we are too much bent on impressing it, more bent on impressing than on confessing. We labour on the world rather than overflow on it. We have a deeper sense of its need than of our own fullness, of its problems than of our answer. We do more to convey Salvation to others than to cultivate it in ourselves, to save than to testify. We are tempted to forget that we have not, in the first place, either to impress the world or to save it, but heartily and mightily to confess in word and deed a Saviour who has done both, who has done it for ourselves, and who is doing it every day. A man's *inspiration* impresses an audience, but it is his *revelation* only which recreates the world. If the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church it was because their fidelity was a witness and an offering presented to Christ rather than to the world, and the more impressive as it did not seek to impress, but only to be true. The kind of religion that carries *us* through the world will say more than all *our* efforts to carry *it* into the

world. Sanctity tells more than energy at last, since it produces the only energy that at last does tell. Nothing but a holy Church can sanctify the world; and a holy Church means a Church of the holy Word and the souls it new creates. A missionary Church must in its heart be more of a worshipping Church than a working Church. In either case it is a confessing Church first of all. It can only live *for* Christ to Christian purpose if it live *in* Him so that He live through it. Any true efficiency for Christ flows at last from proficiency of soul. For religious effect is one thing and spiritual efficiency is another. And the danger of the religious public is to take the one for the other, and to pursue effect impatiently with other means than efficiency.

The great Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in June 1910 is not the only sign that we are in the midst of a missionary age of the Church. Let us not identify the whole *extensive* aspect of the Church's action on the world with foreign missions. And we shall not, if we consider the immense interest and energy of the Church, for the last half-century at least, in connexion with philanthropy in the voluntary field, and with social reform in the political programme.

But for the moment I am not thinking of either home or foreign missions in the ordinary sense. What impresses one as the most missionary feature of the Church of the present, is neither of these things by themselves, but the whole temper and direction of the Church's mind. It is centrifugal. It works outwards. It thinks imperially. The whole quality of its religion is marked by a ruling interest in the aspects of Christianity which appeal to those outside the Church rather than to those within, whether in the evangelical, social, or apologetic way. And therewithal it does not feel equal to the task it owns, or the ideal it pursues. Its ideal is greater than its power.

We hear complaints which may or may not be true about the poverty of preaching. The more experienced Christians

especially complain that in much of the preaching of the day they find little to feed the riper needs of the believing soul. They note the taste for quite young men as preachers, men who will get at the young or the outsider, but who cannot yet have the word for the old disciples. They mark the welcome which Churches give to various forms of work that bear upon the religious world rather than upon the faithful church itself. They note, for instance, that the study of the Child is more interesting to many in the Church than the study of the Bible, and a Boys' Brigade will often get more attention than a Bible Class. They perceive the keen interest of the preacher in the points where Christian faith touches philosophy, science, politics, or civics. They mark his prevalently apologetic sympathies, or his zeal for the humanism in Christianity, for a natural religion highly spiritualized, and his comparative lack of interest in the great themes of positive Revelation, such as the Trinity, or in the distinctive theology of faith which gathers about a matter like Justification. He preaches about subliminal psychology (they say), and even founds theology on it; but he is less at home in matters like regeneration, and such things as involve the moral psychology of the specific Christian experiences rather than touch the marches of the Church and the world. He is more familiar with the reformer's perpetual energy than the saint's everlasting rest.

And these observers, critics, and complainants are not wholly wrong. The problem handled everywhere is how to reach people rather than how to teach them. The eye of the Church is directed outward rather than inward, to ingathering rather than upbuilding. I speak broadly, but it seems to me that we are more preoccupied with the compass than with the content of the gospel. We scheme how to cover and capture the world's mind rather than to develop that of the Church; how to commend Christ to those who are not Christian than how to enrich Him for those that

are; how to extend the area of faith than how to improve its estate, like an absentee landlord who is wild for the Empire.

All such features mean the predominance of the extensive side of Christianity. And there are signs that this overbalance to the missionary side endangers its own end. The extensive action of Christianity grows slack because it outruns its base in the Church's intensive growth. 'We cannot send reinforcements because we do not make recruits,' said Dr. Denney at Edinburgh. There are many grounds for suspecting that the real and intractable reasons for the decay in certain Churches of interest in Foreign Missions are such as these—the impoverishment of faith's working capital in their own experience, the thinness of their Christianity as an inmost life, the lack in their religion of that note of 'intimacy' which is such a feature of modern literature, or of the positivity and thoroughness that go with modern science, and the poverty of mass, and volume, and driving power behind their contact with the world. It is a loss which robs their impact of much force, and therefore much result that it would otherwise have.

There is an historical reason for this sense of impotence on the Church's part. The idea of Humanity which has taken possession of the age has not grown out of the Church's faith so much as it has been infused into it. It arose outside the Church, in that great modern departure which began with Lessing and went on through Rousseau, to take command of our time. It is only in a secondary sense a Christian idea. It is not without some violence that we find it in the New Testament. Here the prime idea is the Kingdom of God, or the New Humanity, the New Creation, to which the natural race is secondary and contributory—a soil for the seed. What rules in Christianity is the idea of the New Humanity created in Jesus Christ, not the natural Humanity glorified. The destiny of the race is Christ and His Kingdom, as the gift of God, not the mere exaltation of civilization as a human product. But at the end of the eighteenth century

the conception of Christian faith had fallen low. The Reformation theology had settled on its lees. The Evangelical movement, great as it was, had not the universal note, except partially in its missions. It had not the public note. And upon a Church thus starved and straitened in its own resources there broke the modern humanist enthusiasm. It was received with joy and ardour by multitudes whose higher sympathy and imagination found nothing large enough in the sects and orthodoxies which dominated the Church. And while it carried many out of the Church, it made a new inspiration to many also who remained within. Their Christian faith seemed to offer many points of attachment to the new ideal, which rather infected it from without than inspired it from within. This is an inversion of the true Christian order, which must always find in Humanity points of attachment for faith, and not in faith points of attachment for Humanity. Moreover, the idea of Humanity remains an idea till it find in the faith of the New Humanity in Christ the power to give it practical effect. It is a great and divine idea, and the mind of the Church must be tuned to it. But even yet we only dump it on the old creed; we do not join them up. For that time, the actual faith of the Church was certainly below the range and flight of the humane ideal. And not even yet has it undergone a development commensurate with the sympathy or imagination of the new passion. The rank and file of the Church have been facing the enthusiasm of Humanity with a theology and a religion which were but individualist, sectarian, or nationalist at most. Now these particularist forms of Christian faith are passing. Both theology and faith are undergoing a great change at the hands, especially, of the cautious representatives of a renovated theology. These things are, and should be, slower to change than either ideals, sympathies, or imaginations. But the Church is slowly realizing the trust committed to it of a truly racial Christ and His Salvation. At the same time it is protesting against the humanist transfer

of the Christian centre of gravity from God to man. But the happy change has not yet reached the masses of the Church as the humanitarian idea has done. And as a result they do not find in their type of faith the resources adequate to the call upon them to cover and command and bless the world. They are torn with the attempt to work the idea of Humanity with a faith whose note is still too individual, too sectarian, too national, and too narrow. The impression they strive to create is wider than the confession they are able to make.

We are all familiar, and to a certain extent sympathetic, with one way suggested to improve our effect on outsiders. It is the method of what some would call reduction, some concentration in the matter of belief. It bids us drop much of our inherited message, and shut down upon what is common to us with other faiths, or with the world at its best. It says we are carrying to those without and afar a lumber of thought which is more of the West than of the East, or more of the evangelical than of the spiritual, more of the temporary than of the eternal. It even impresses on us that evangelical Christianity is but one form of it, that because some men need forgiving grace all do not, and that this form can be dropped to much advantage in certain circumstances where we confront a greater or less measure of culture, whether at home or abroad. It presses the fallacy that Christ is more than the Gospel, and that we should concentrate on Him either as a symbol or a person, and avoid the theological corollaries which are associated with His work of redemption in the Cross. This is impressed upon us sometimes in unpleasant forms, which, however, are only the performance of a striking tune on a street organ. Men who by their weight, knowledge, and piety deserve respect and attention can charm us much more wisely with the same strain. And they make some to see—what others had realized on no compulsion save that of an ever-deepening faith and its liberty—that we were much straitened in the old armour, and that we can

march, manœuvre, and fight better as peltasts than as hoplites of belief.

The religious public is much relieved to recognize this reduction in the Christian's marching weight. And it is slaying the slain to insist on it. Where guidance is really wanted is with a problem beyond the liberalism that trades in platitudinarian generalities of this kind, a problem which buckles us down to ask just where the line is to be drawn which divides reduction from collapse. The proverbial old man was within sight of getting his ass down to living on a straw a day when unluckily it died. What is it that we are really to carry to the world—a pure gift and new creation from God, or some brotherly aid to help the weak and trust the best in us all? When Christ's word is in collision with the modern consciousness at its best, are we to be reduced so far as to say that it is Christ that must go? Is our liberal and portable Gospel a Fatherhood which is obtained by deflating Christianity of its Christology and packing it in an attractive cover? If not, if we have a real and positive gift from God, what precisely is it? Is it the soul of Christ, or the work of Christ, the mystic soul or the moral work? Is it the inner life, the moral power and spiritual impressiveness, of the historic Christ who is also the living heavenly Christ, or the Cross of Christ as the marrow and point of both for our justification? Granted that Christianity is a matter of experience, what is it that the ripe Christian experiences—a mighty ideal presence, or a Saviour once for all? Who and what is the living Christ? Is it the interior personality, of which the Cross was but an incidental by-product, or is it the Christ whose inaccessible inmost life ran up into the Cross, was condensed, and pointed for our justification on the Cross, and only by the Cross made intelligible at all? Is the Cross, as Herrmann says, more valuable for the theological reflection of the few than for the faith's foundation of all? And is our living Christ what he says—one to whom only the collective Church has access and not the single soul?

Behind all the creaking or breaking of the missionary machinery the real trouble of missions is in the region of the inspiring faith, and such of its problems as I have named. And it lies not so much in the absence of faith, but in the abeyance (as the Church's note) of the kind of faith that created the Church, spread it, and alone can spread it still.

Now there is no doubt that our preoccupation with the impact of Christ on the surface of the outside world rather than with His action in the depths of the believer's soul disposes us to concentrate on His powerful and mysterious personality (and often only on His character), and to ignore what I have ventured to call elsewhere the cruciality of His Cross, which is such a scandal to the world. Paul also seems to have had to do with some Christians who were Christ's men but enemies of the Cross of Christ. We are invited to think that the most valuable thing in Christianity is not that which appeals to the ripe Christian or the great penitents, but that which attracts those who are not ill-disposed but aloof. We are tempted, as we dwell on the personality of Christ, to treat Him as a deep mystery to be revered rather than a clear revelation to be trusted, as our new Moses rather than our New Creator. He winningly impresses on a subjective age the abysmal depths of a divine personality more than He effects in the waiters for Salvation the eternal reality and world-purpose of God. But which is the central and final function of Christ?

Does Christianity rest at last on that sympathetic or imaginative side which most commends it to non-believers, to the most religious or most needy side of the world? Or does it rest on that spiritual and eternal redemption which gives it its power for the veteran confessors and the mighty experients who have become the classics of the faith and the Church? Granting that many to-day are moved by the figure of Christ, by the picture stepping out of its scriptural frame on them, can they stop there? Can such an impression carry the weight of life and conscience to the end?

Herrmann's *Verkehr*, for instance, is a great illuminative, spiritual, and almost devotional book, but could his position carry a Church? Can it surmount the ravages of criticism, and carry certainty through the worst that the world may do and our own weakness dread? Is that impression the real foundation of a new and eternal relation to God? It may be its *Erkenntnisgrund*, is it its *Realgrund*? It may arrest and even subdue us, could it regenerate and establish us for ever? I have never felt convinced myself by those passages in which he seeks to show how his position leaves him immune from the worst that criticism can inflict.

It is a very important question, this, and one that leads us very far. Is the Godhead of Jesus best expressed, and best founded for us, in that humane godliness of His which must affect all decent people, or in that God-forsakenness of His which has meant so much for both the reprobate and the saint? It is a question which breaks up into several forms. Let us admit, provisionally, that the door into faith is one thing; the ground, when we are well within, another; and the rich content and plerophory of it, when we are 'far ben,' and settled in, is still a third. Let us keep distinct the rise of faith, the rock of faith, and its range; its font, its foundation, and its fullness; what produces it in the beginner, what supports it in experience, what expands it, in the ripe, to a scheme of the eternal world.

What then, we ask, is the relation between these phases?

When we are occupied with what initiates and begets faith we have the Church's extensive or missionary interest, the father Church; when we are engaged with what supports it, or is its foundation, we have the Church's intensive, worshipping, edifying, or nursing interest, the cherishing Church, the mother Church; and when we are concerned with the rich range and fullness of faith we have the Church's distensive interest, its self exposition or evolution, its theological interest, the cosmic Church. We have the gracious Church, the holy Church, and the glorious Church of the

gracious, holy, glorious God. How, then, we ask, are these related? Are we to say, for instance, that in appealing to the weak or the world we must use the fascination of the character of Christ; while in address to the mature Christian we must use the real ground of faith's confidence with God—Christ's work concentrated in the Cross; and only then, when we come to speak wisdom among the perfect, must we dwell on the fullness of faith as it is expressed in the Godhead of Christ or the holiness of the Trinity? To the young shall we offer Christ's sympathetic charm, to the ripe His moral realism, to the mellow His spiritual range?

The question grows more acute if we reduce the issues from three to two. Granting, for the moment, that we should go to those we want to win with the inner life and spell of Christ, is that to be the staple still of our address to those who are won, who are truly within the Church? And, whereas we used to refer these last to the foundation of faith, namely the Cross, shall we now erase the second distinction, and relegate that work of the Cross to the third division (now the second) which contains the amplified thought of faith or its speculative theology? Shall we keep both the catechumens and the members upon the inner life of Christ and the impressions it makes on us, finding there both the origin of faith and its ground; and shall we dismiss the work of Christ from our direct religion to the theological schools, and class it among the luxuries of faith? Shall we say that faith is primarily concerned with impression from Christ both for the young and the old, and only secondarily with justification, which is for the divines and the schools? Shall we abolish the distinction between the order of time and the order of value, between the first founding of faith and its abiding foundation; and, whereas we used to say that the soul of Christ came first in the way of time, as faith's introduction, while the work of Christ was prime through all, as faith's ground, shall we now say that the soul of Christ is both prior and

prime, at once our first step and our final footing, and that the effect of Christ's work is otiose, and left to the speculation and leisure of those whose taste lies that way ?

To do that is to alter the whole message of the Church. And to displace thus the Cross of Christ is also to truncate His soul. It sacrifices to the inner Christ the inmost and the holiest of all.

II

PUSHING THE GOSPEL AND PREACHING IT

There is no doubt, I think, that the extensive or missionary side has so far got the upper hand in the Church that its ruling and favourite interest is in what makes the Gospel welcome to the young, the weak, or the world; that we are more concerned about getting people into a wide and easy Church, with a facile manhood, than about getting them deep into a humbling, taxing, and sifting Christ, with a manhood proved and braced; that we are more occupied, and more successful, in extending the social pale of Christ than in establishing His profound power; that the extensive aspect gets the better of the intensive, the quantitative of the qualitative, or, as one might say, the crops of the mines; and that the disciplinary apparatus of the intensive action of a holy gospel is being scrapped on the heap where the distensive results of faith already lie discredited, like a doctrine of the Trinity, as mere theology.

And what is the result ? The Church grows too missionary for its success. It grows too exclusively missionary even for missions. It grows more cosmopolite than missionary, more ecumenical than truly catholic. It tends to occupy more territory than it can hold. Religion is running out of the Church as action upon the world more rapidly than it is running into it as action on the soul; and as its level sinks, and its volume shrinks, its weight and pressure on life is reduced. Work preoccupies us till we lose the faith that carries it on, and

the business of the kingdom suffers from the very busyness of its sons. As we are busy here and there the Spirit is gone. We totally misinterpret the passage about doing the will of God as a means of knowing the doctrine. There is no promise there that practical Christianity is the organ of access to Christian truth. That is putting the cart before the horse. We need certainty of Christian truth for true and sustained Christian action. And all that the well-worn passage said was that those who had inner obedience to God for a life habit would know, by a spiritual freemasonry, when they heard Christ teaching, that He was religiously neither an adventurer nor a self-seeker, but the vehicle of a real inspiration, whether its theological form was perfect and final or not. They would know that He was inspired enough to say with divine authority that no amount of practical obedience of the conscientious kind, were it as careful as that of the elder brother, could win to know the truth of a God of Grace apart from the obedience of the prodigal which is faith and repentance. The last truth about God can be reached by neither thought nor duty, but by tasting the grace of God. And as a matter of fact history has often shown that men of loose life may hold the most true and exalted doctrines about life and God; while on the other hand, men of severe and devoted life may hold doctrines too stiff and hard to have come from the God and Father of Jesus Christ. At the present day we may often find that the very best of practical Christians have an utterly impossible theology, and that both the believer and the unbeliever can often be very wrong whose life seems completely right.

Every missionary society complains of the starving of missions; and the source of it, paradoxical as it may seem, is really missionary hypertrophy. 'A lamp's death when, o'er-fed with oil, it chokes.' We are so engrossed with the pushing, adventurous, attractive, winning, or impressive side of Christianity that we neglect by comparison the real searching evangelical core which guarantees the going power.

A preacher who can fill a church will not be much criticized in respect of his message; and a genial or kindly personality will atone for much treason to faith. We compass sea and land with a gospel whose action on ourselves at home is so ineffectual that foreign converts could not be trusted to visit the land that converted them. Our imperial policy outgrows our home resources of personal faith and sacrifice. We gain the world, but we lose in soul. We pursue a simple and welcome faith, but we lose a holy and judging faith. We cover the earth, but our note is not unearthly. Men admire our energy more than they wonder at our spell. To substitute a soul of Christ which submerges His work for the work of Christ which effectuates His soul is to cultivate an inverted faith, and one more likely to increase the Church than to strengthen it, to popularize it for a time than to sanctify it in the Eternal Spirit. To find the central and effective revelation of God in the impression produced by Christ's inner life rather than in the redemption by His inmost death is to miss the revelation that the conscience most needs. It is to evangelize the whole world from a centre but partly evangelized, which itself needs the extension of the gospel into its dark places. What needs God's revelation is the conscience, more even than the heart or the spiritual nature. There is no sweeter word than God's lovingkindness, but it is not so holy as His judgement on Him who was made sin for our righteousness. When we put the matter on a world scale the supreme problem is a question of having the conscience forgiven rather than of having the heart filled. And even for the conscience it is not a question of theology, of believing in God's power and will to deal with human sin; it is a question of private religion, of finding Him dealing with my personal guilt. Truly it is much to realize that Christ is God's answer to the moral anomalies and wrongs of life. It is still more to see Him as God's reaction upon the sin of the world. But it is most of all to be sure that He destroys my

personal guilt which burdens, blackens, and curses all. No mere impression from the soul of Christ can destroy that, only God in Christ crucified as the Justifier of the ungodly. Only the Cross of Christ can do it, as the supreme work of God, and the supreme reaction of the Holy One upon an evil world. It can only be done by a revelation which is in its nature redemption, by a revelation which is not merely redemptive in its tendency and destiny, but which is already a finished salvation. We need something beyond the certainty that God in Christ *will at last be* more than a match for sin; we need the certainty that He *has been* the death of our guilt. And there is no such certainty but in an atoning Christ as crucified and risen. A sense of the pressure of personal guilt is a better qualification for understanding the Cross than even the sense of the world's sin. To say 'Rivers of water run down mine eyes, because they keep not Thy law,' does not bring us so near to the God whose sacrifices are a broken and contrite spirit as the confession 'Mine iniquities have taken hold of me, so that I cannot look up.' It is a great thing to say amidst misunderstanding and neglect, 'My judgement is *with* my God,' but it is a far greater and more solemn thing for the aching conscience to say 'My judgement is *upon* my God.' And if we feel that to speak like this may look like the pharisaism of the publican, that it suggests something so hateful as turning our defect into a quality, making an advantage out of our shame, and drawing from it a certain eminence, then we turn from ourselves altogether to take refuge in the history of the Church's central, classic, and evangelical experience. It is the Church's penitence that has given it its best conscience and its best insight into its Saviour. And it testifies that neither the revelation of Christ's inner life, nor even its entrance into us as a mere infused spirit, can give us the last peace when once the spectre of our personal guilt has begun to walk. It is not enough that His presence should tread and calm the raging waters of our remorse. He is there not simply to fulfil our

spiritual aspirations, to increase our moral power, or to relieve us from the burden and pressure of an untoward world. His Redemption is deeper and higher than all that. It goes to the depths of our conscience—from the holy heights of God. God is in Him reconciling, atoning, and not imputing. We must have a holy act of God as real as any act which made our guilt, and as final. For if God's saving act is not final our damning act is.

Moreover, for the Church to found and fasten its faith, not upon what commends Christ to the ripe Christian conscience, but upon what sounds most worthy, humane, and welcome in Him outside the Church, is suicide. Does Christianity, for instance, really stand or fall by its success in winning the vote for Christ of the working class, by leading them to rise up at His coming while they kneel down to none, not even to Him? The Church does not stand or fall by its relation to the outside world, or its action on it, but by its relation and commerce with God. If that be right, free, and full, our action on the world will not fail at last, either in ethic, conversion, or benevolence. The nemesis of the external standard is seen, first, in this, that it does not really secure the respect even of the world—as no man does who deprecates or neglects his own individuality in the effort to be agreeable. After all we are justified by our faith, even to the world. And, second, the nemesis is seen in the way in which a belief in Christ, reduced from His Cross to His inner soul, tends to ebb down to the denial of His historic existence for the sake of His idea. It tends thus to ebb as soon as we lose hold of the one thing in Him which is the substance of history—a great soul not simply contemplated or revered (which is aesthetic religion), but put wholly into a great and decisive act. Cast loose from the Cross, from redemption as the focus of revelation, we reach at the long last the conviction that—

. . . the ray that led us on
Shines from a long annihilated star.

A constant weakness of the Church as catholic is the peril of that ambition to the Church as holy. The missionary passion to spread may outrun the sanctified passion to grow. The effort to subdue the world may starve all effort to master the word, and the world is apt to be gained at the cost of the Church's soul. The Church as messenger may starve the Church as mother; and she may fall to the position of those public persons who lose character in pressing a cause, and cease to be good in the passion to be apostles and martyrs. This we recognize in the history and fall of Roman Catholicism, where the Empire Church submerges the Gospel Church, and the curia of cardinals crushes the communion of saints. But the like peril might subtly await other Churches in proportion as they are imperial and aggressive. They might be zealous for missions and yet treat the grand idea of mother Church as only suggesting something Romish. The Free Churches run no risk from Catholicism in the popular sense of the word. They are safe from the priest, and the mass, and the pope. But they are not safe from the dream of Catholicism, the passion to cover the world at home or abroad with Christianity, or to compass sea and land with the Church, by other means than the native power of a positive and experienced Gospel in sacramental men. We are not safe from the peril of getting men in faster than the gospel can go, and winning more subjects for Christ than He can. Jesus, for all His love of souls, and for all His revelation of a Father who seeketh men to worship Him, did not force Himself on men. It is as true to say He eluded them. He did not assert His power over men by an obvious, an obtrusive, pursuit of them. We are in our own way liable to the peril of being catholic at the cost of sanctity, and cultivating a wide Church or a broad Church, at the cost of a holy Church, deep and high. We too run the risk that befell ancient Rome and its modern Christian avatar in Romanism—the risk of being drained of liberty and strength at home by foreign conquest, the risk of acquiring a multitude of

souls that we can neither manage nor inspire, that weight us more than steady us. The heart may lose power to sustain the energy of the limbs. We, too, as Churches may lose the note of holiness, and the theology of the holy, in our own spiritual way. But is it not certain that a missionary Church can only flourish as a mother Church? The strength of the gathering Church is the cherishing Church. It can only spread from a warm and holy home. If we do not tend the altar lamps and the sacred hearth in Church life, we profit the kingdom little in Christian work. And we can remain both universal and spiritual, the Church can be at once catholic and holy, only on the condition of being also, and first, apostolic, i. e. of living on the depth and authority of the apostolic gospel. The Church of a personal enthusiasm even for Christ will do no more for the world than Roman institutionalism unless it can transcend an enthusiasm of Humanity which has Christ merely for its minister; unless it is, in the depth of its experienced conviction, an evangelical Church, upon the foundation of redemptive fact and the faith and passion of reconciling holiness. For religious enthusiasm, as such, is no more a guarantee of the Holy Ghost than is canonical ordination.

The reversion of the world will belong to that Church which makes most of the holiness of God, with its outgoing as love, and its downgoing as grace. The world will belong to the Church which takes most seriously the mercy which is rooted there. 'As is Thy Majesty, so is Thy Mercy.' What a phrase! What an inspiration! To be in the Apocrypha too, outside the pale of reputable inspiration! There is no such mighty miracle anywhere as the union of God's most holy majesty and His most intimate mercy. One thing is stronger than the pity of the strong, and it is the pity of the Holy. And it exists for us only in the Cross of Christ. It is the incredible word of the Cross, the very matter and marrow of Christianity, the moral lever to lift the world.

What is indicated therefore is not that the manner of gospel which is most engaging and welcome to the world should necessarily give the type for the Church, but that what God has given us as the type for the Church should go to the world in the most engaging and welcome way. That is to say, the mature Church should not be confined to live on the inner life of Christ, nor on the inner life and subjective 'holiness' of its own members, at the cost of Christ's inmost work on the Cross as faith's real and certain ground; but the Cross should be presented to the world (insinuated if you will) with that end foremost, so to say. It was for the objective work of the Cross that the whole inner life of Christ was there. True, it was by the life of Christ that He began to act upon the disciples in their call. But that life itself was the retroaction of the Cross. It was the Cross that gathered it all up, showed what the purpose and principle of the life was, and made it effectual and decisive for the spiritual and eternal world. The Cross certainly walked in on men, so to speak; it walked into men's hearts by a dear intimacy, it did not drop out of the sky. But it was the Cross that walked in. The soul of Christ had the Cross in its principle; the Cross of Christ was His soul in power. It cannot be that what stirs faith at first should be really a different thing from the object of faith at last; and the object of faith is not only Christ but Christ consummate, Christ as crucified and risen. Is it not best after all to go to aliens with what we can heartily say is most precious and powerful to ourselves? Shall we ever exert true missionary power, speak with winning authority, and turn the world, unless we go (as wisely as may be) with the object of our faith as also the access to our faith: with the soul of a Christ who lived for the Cross even when He hoped and prayed the Cross might pass; and not with a Christ who lived wondrously winsomely, impressively, and just met with the Cross? A faith produced by impressions from Christ's soul sinks in sand unless it come upon the rock of Christ's Cross. Im-

pressionist religion is not faith. And impressions, even from Christ, will not carry faith, though they may be made to grow to it.

But the real answer to our question is the answer to another. Where has God placed the true foundation of faith? Is it in Christ's soul or in His Cross? If we take the whole New Testament Christ, He has placed it less directly in the historic fact of the person than in the apostolic Word of the Cross. The last Christian fact is the total Word of the Gospel in Christ, personal, crucified, and risen; it is not a powerful historic personality. It is not the epiphany of a person, but the purpose and work that crystallized it. The gospel is more theological than even biographical. Is that not clear from the history of the disciples' own faith? Truly they were educated through stages, and ripened by degrees. The impression from the soul of Christ went in upon them deeper and deeper. But there came a point when they went to pieces, when it could walk into their hearts no more, when to all appearance it would have faded into a spiritualized Judaism, and that again into its common day, but for something which happened quite different from a rise to a new stage, something whose crisis was at Pentecost. No impression from the soul, or even from the teaching, of Christ, no memory of His wonderful works saved the disciples from desertion and betrayal. Disciples must become confessors, and confessors apostles. The disciples had had acting on them Christ's own confidence in His future, often and variously expressed, but they could not trust even that unique action of His soul on theirs. Under the crucifixion they broke down. They did not simply fail to rise: they forsook Him and fled. It was only when the Cross had its decisive, creative action as interpreted by the Resurrection and by Pentecost that they came to themselves and to Him for ever. Then they had something more to preach about than the way they were arrested and changed by the

inner life of Jesus. Peter within a few weeks of his denial was converting crowds, and setting the lame man at the temple gate to leap and sing. What was the secret of the change, the miracle? It was not the mystery of Christ's abysmal personality, nor the magic atmosphere radiating from Him, but the risen Christ and the Holy Ghost. It was by the power of the new life of Christ through the Cross that Peter healed the cripple. The power that made this man walk was the same power that raised Christ from death; and raised Him from no individual decease, but from the death which lay upon the whole world, for which **He** was made sin. Peter never really found his soul till he was incorporated into that death and resurrection of Christ. And he gives his own account of it thus: 'God hath regenerated us into a living hope by the resurrection of Christ from the dead' (1 Pet. i. 3). This is the mysticism of the Cross, which is a different thing from the mysticism of the Soul. Christianity is not the religion of personality merely, but of Redemption.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE TRIAL AT VITERBO:

A STUDY OF THE 'CAMORRA'

THE year 1911 will be distinguished in the annals of modern Italy by transactions less joyous, but not less significant, than the patriotic rejoicings and the inauguration of a stately monument to the first illustrious sovereign of the united kingdom, which have marked this Jubilee year of Italian independence. The judicial proceedings at Viterbo, which have already extended over more than five months, have revealed another aspect of Italian patriotism. We see a little group of devoted public servants engaged in a grim struggle with perhaps the most complex, malignant, and subtle form of organized evil which ever spread corruption through an entire community, and tainted the atmosphere of a wide region. It is a drama of terrible interest that is unfolding before our eyes; for the question is not whether this or that evil-doer shall be convicted of murder and of complicity in murder, but whether the monstrous growth that has long preyed on the vitals of an unhappy yet noble people shall be extirpated. The sharp surgery of the law *must* be successful, otherwise freedom in South Italy will still be a mere name, and the moral redemption of this lovely land remain an almost insoluble problem.

In considering what is known as 'the Cuocolo Case,' we must dismiss from our minds all prejudices in favour of the decorous traditions of British law, and reconcile ourselves to the strange spectacle which the old conventual hall at Viterbo has offered, of forty-five accused persons (who have been detained in prison for wellnigh five years) penned up, like the wild beasts they resemble, behind the

bars of an immense cage, and frequently interrupting hostile witnesses with artful questions and witty but savage and often disgusting taunts; while many of the witnesses, prevaricating, hesitating, even weeping and lamenting, betray a terrified unwillingness to reveal what they know. Other witnesses, self-confessed as habitual offenders, display a gay, mocking recklessness, like men wont to carry their lives in their hands and to escape imminent peril by ready wit; and yet others, lifelong spies and falsifiers, do their crafty best to mystify the ministers of justice, or shrink in abject fear as their well-woven web of lies is plucked asunder and their corrupt motives are exposed.

Confronting these is the small but gallant band of men, sworn servants of justice, who during the last five years have followed up with patient daring the clues, fine and fragile as the spider's thread, which have led them through a labyrinth of lies to the den where lurks obscurely the octopus of crime, which they would fain drag forth and destroy. An army of advocates, retained for the prosecution and defence, keeps up a wordy war with occasional eloquence, much recrimination and varying skill—and, sometimes, with excusable wrath. And over this strange scene rules the president, Signor Bianchi, whose surprising patience, tact, and impartiality are admired by all spectators, as he 'rules the whirlwind and directs the storm' of warring passions in this unexampled trial—transferred to Viterbo because it could hardly be hoped that it would find a successful issue at Naples.

The specific crime in which these remarkable proceedings originated was but a sordid savage deed of blood, of a type nowise uncommon in South Italy; the victims were two pests of society, 'suppressed,' as the phrase goes, because they had become noxious to their fellow-criminals. How it has become a matter of national importance to solve the mystery of the fate of these poor wretches will be clear if we deal, as briefly as may be, with the history of the crime.

In the spring of 1906 a certain Gennaro Cuocolo and his wife, Maria Cutinelli—a childless couple in early middle life—were living quietly at Naples in Via Nardones, a bye-street of sinister repute, which branches out of the great Via Roma, not far from the splendid arcade, the Galleria Umberto Primo. Gennaro Cuocolo seemed in easy circumstances and on affectionate terms with his wife, who was in a critical state of health. They had not long been settled in Via Nardones, where a single woman-servant, who did not sleep in the house, waited on them. Suddenly, Naples learnt with horror that this almost recluse pair had been cruelly murdered in one day—the 5th of June 1906—but at widely distant places: the wife in her sleeping apartment while preparing for bed; the husband at Cupa Calastro, a lonely spot near Torre del Greco, between Vesuvius and the sea. Both had received many deadly wounds; in both cases plunder had followed murder. Few, however, believed plunder to be the real motive of the crime, which was marked by such peculiar features that, when the true character of the Cuocolo pair came to light, there were very many who muttered the dread word, ‘Camorra!’

Gennaro Cuocolo, though the son of a reputable father, was notorious among the *malviventi* (evil-doers) of Naples as a master-thief, receiver, and usurer; his wife was his apt associate. Unluckily, they had come under strong suspicion of having turned informers—the one unpardonable sin in those affiliated to ‘the Camorra’—the mysterious, omnipresent, all but omnipotent criminal society which, having flourished through many centuries at Naples, diffused itself widely in South Italy, and even extended to the United States of America, is now in a manner on its trial at Viterbo, where many of its members, penned in the *gabbia*, or cage, stand accused of complicity in the Cuocolo murder.

It would seem that the miserable man’s Camorrist comrades had satisfied themselves that he was betraying them to the police, several well-planned robberies having

been foiled in a way implying treachery on his part. Camorrist councils were held, his guilt pronounced upon, his exemplary punishment decreed—and carried out. The 'suppression' of his wife, who knew too much, followed as a necessary precaution; it was accomplished by two of the assassins detailed for the purpose. Such is the theory of the prosecution, supported by a vast body of evidence collected during the past five years, which is not yet confuted, though contested at every step by the daring, artful prisoners and their numerous able defenders.

The necessary investigations, conducted through the Carabinieri—that fine body of military police, picked men of high character, whose stately bearing, fine physique, and picturesque uniform are familiar to all who know Italy—have been controlled and directed with patient skill and daring by Captain Carlo Fabbroni, sent down to Naples immediately after the Cuocolo tragedy. He has been ably assisted by various officers of his corps, especially by the 'Marescialli,' Capezzuti and Farris. The result of their efforts has been to throw a flood of light on the 'mystery of iniquity' which, working hitherto in obscurity, has polluted the life of a whole community, and poisoned the very springs of justice.

Fabbroni, never having before held a command in South Italy, knew little of the Camorra when his superiors detailed him to investigate the latest exploit of that 'sect,' and set himself diligently to study the mysterious force which opposed itself to his inquiries. He could thus give to the court a succinct sketch of the origin and actual constitution of the Camorra—an unhappy legacy, he said, from Spain to Italy, in which country it found too congenial a soil in past ages of oppression—especially in Naples, more oppressed and misgoverned than any other part of the Peninsula. Here it has always been ruled by its own statutes, laws and customs, comprised under the general name of 'frieno.' We shall understand the enormous difficulty of

dealing with and punishing Camorra crime, if we consider certain rules of the 'frieno.'

'The Camorrist must observe secrecy even with his dearest. He must rule by "force and mastery"; must approve himself brave and resolute to the utmost. He must never own himself a Camorrist. Even to serve or save himself he must not give evidence to judicial authority. Only the "society" may pronounce on Camorrist deeds. The Camorrist must avenge his own injuries; if not strong enough, he may only seek help from Camorrists. He may not live with wife or kinsfolk who seek aid from justice. If unable to avenge his own wrongs and to rule by the strong hand, he is expelled as unworthy. Expulsion also awaits him who is guilty of espionage to the damage of the "sect" and its dependents—and chastisement, according to his guilt. The penalty may be a beating; a gash on the face, as a brand of infamy; a dangerous wound; or death.' The last penalty has been very rare since 1860. But if less sanguinary than of yore, the Camorra is still ready to defend its many strong interests with blood, if need be. It has become more subtle, more insidious, more dangerous; its obscure influence pervades society, interferes with industry, corrupts politics, defeats justice.

In 1860, at the time of Garibaldi's entry into Naples, the constituted authorities were fain to make use of the Camorra, which, thoroughly knowing all the classes of malefactors, and flattered by being appealed to, aided the police to clear out many dens of crime. *There are recent examples of similar hybrid alliances*, when the officers of justice have deemed it necessary, or expedient, to fight fire with fire—crime with crime. To be thus consulted, thus deferred to, by the very authorities that should have put them down, has inevitably heightened the arrogance of the Camorra chiefs, increasing their proud reliance on their own superior organization. They have their dominant and subordinate class; their supreme head, their inferior chiefs,

allotted to each quarter of the city; their tribunals and councils; their taxes, inexorably levied on every form of illicit or of honest industry; their 'financial secretary' in direct dependence on the supreme head; and their little army of aspiring recruits, prompt in rendering the thousand small services required by the great captains of crime. For the false prestige of the Camorra, its traditions of a mock heroism, its lure of a life of easy gains and wild adventure, have a fatal charm for young, ignorant minds, who become rebels to law, enemies to society, and willing slaves of the Camorra chiefs.

The Cuocolo murder was carefully planned both to overawe and impress the initiated. 'An ordinary criminal,' said Fabbioni, 'does all he can to delay discovery of his deed; here, all was done to make it evident.' The corpse, which could easily have been hidden, had been arranged in a conspicuous position so as to confront passers-by; the stiffened hand had been posed as if, in a *zumpata*, or Camorrist mock duel, it had grasped a knife (a common kitchen-knife, stolen from the dead man's kitchen, lay mockingly close by); characteristic Camorra slashes branded the dead face as that of a traitor; numerous dreadful wounds, obviously dealt by several persons, had been inflicted by the 'triangular' blade used by Camorrist. All this significant parade said plainly to the initiated, 'Behold the reward of treachery—and beware!' For the police, there was the simulation of a common robbery with violence, the body being stripped of all valuables. One of these, a remarkable gold ring with initials, being afterwards discovered sewn up in a mattress belonging to one of the accused, has proved a terrible piece of evidence against them, much contested, of course, by the defence.

It is easy to understand the terrified reluctance both of secret informers and ordinary honest witnesses to testify *openly* against a society which so craftily and daringly avenges itself. And inquiry into this case might have been

completely foiled, as it has been in scores of others, but for the action of that singular ex-Camorrist witness, Gennaro Abbatemaggio.

This youth, of honest humble parentage and keen intelligence, being very early caught by the false glamour of the Camorra, had thrust himself a little too far into its secrets, and was dismayed. Often in prison for theft, he was gradually won to make confidential disclosures to the police, and at last to 'burn his boats' and testify publicly to the appalling revelations he had privately made as to Camorra intrigues centring in the Cuocolo crime. His statements were surprisingly confirmed by discoveries seasonably made in a house of ill-fame, managed by one of the accused Camorristi and his mistress—a kind of loathly sanctuary for the offenders, where, it would seem, they disposed of their blood-stained garments, and held obscure consultations. The witness Abbatemaggio would seem to have been 'frightened out of fear'; he has spoken with a strange, mocking, defiant courage; yet while still detained in prison he had entreated, trembling, for the temporary release of a fellow-prisoner, whose two brothers, suspecting that Abbatemaggio had betrayed him, had knelt, knife in hand, before two shrines of the Madonna, vowing to slay the supposed informer if their brother were not promptly liberated—as he actually was for a space, to quiet the witness's fears.

Perhaps this unique trial has produced only one stranger figure than this self-confessed thief and criminal witness for truth; and that is the priest, Don Ciro Vitozzi, known to-day as 'the Chaplain of the Camorra,' but formerly as the quite reputable chaplain at the great 'Campo Santo' of Naples. Imprisoned, though not encaged, with his formidable flock, he lies under the imputation of having continually acted as their intermediary 'with courts of justice and the City Council,' and, indeed, he has been known to boast, not falsely, of the pressure he could and

did exercise in high influential quarters. Very unctuous in phraseology, he loves to pose as 'a priest of God who has intervened, as in duty bound, on behalf of the humble'—these his 'lowly' clients being a sinister company of thieves, stabbers, usurers, blackmailers, panders, and swindlers of every description and degree; many of whom, affecting pomp and luxury, and posing as gentlemen of consideration, fascinate by the glare and glitter of triumphant vice, and lure into crime poor creatures toiling along the rugged ways of ill-paid honest labour.

The story of this trial would be incomplete if we did not notice an elaborate attempt, supported by suborned false testimony, to fasten the guilt of the murder on two veteran thieves well known to the police, but *not* affiliated to the Camorra. This conspiracy, though craftily organized, seems to have broken down.

It has been justly remarked by an Italian writer that, be the issue of the trial at Viterbo what it may, every page of its bulky records witnesses to an evil much more grievous than the crime under investigation, or the vile character of its perpetrators—the existence, namely, of 'the Camorrist spirit,' in its negative form of tame, degrading acquiescence, pervading all ranks of Neapolitan society. 'We see countless citizens meekly allowing a little horde of petty tyrants to levy taxes where and how they please, alike on riches and poverty, on prostitution and honest labour, on the stolen pocket-book and the hushed-up scandal. They gash the cheek of the girl who resists their evil will, they break the electoral urns which might return a candidate who has not their vote.' What is the secret of this ignoble submission to lawless tyranny? Whence have Camorrist associates derived the measureless audacity which permits them to choose in the thronged splendid Galleria their rendezvous for dividing stolen jewellery, and to assemble in popular seaside restaurants for a 'banquet' in which criminal enterprises should be concerted? The humiliating reply

must be that the Camorristic power of to-day feeds and grows fat on the vices of the people, which its action constantly fosters, and exasperates into greater virulence; and it rules through these vices. A vast proportion of its funds comes from the gains of fallen women, recruited, protected, and fleeced by its members, who find these unhappy creatures apt tools for all villany—as has been demonstrated at Viterbo. Not less do they profit by the universal passion for gambling. They exact a percentage on the winnings of all gaming-houses; they have been known to make great sums by keeping ‘illegal’ gambling-dens; and the needs of desperate gamblers are supplied at a monstrous rate of interest by their usurers, fitly styled *strozzini*, or stranglers.

Add that the *camorristi* have at their mercy the smaller industries, compelled to pay them a fixed proportion of their earnings, and often half-ruined by borrowings from *strozzini*—whose exactions extend through every class—and it may be guessed what pressure of fear and shame they can exercise in many quarters, even when the dread of secret vindictive assassination by their means is discounted.

It has pleased the modern Camorra, since South Italy has been endowed with free institutions, to manipulate those institutions for its own profit. ‘You must reckon with it,’ says the writer we have already quoted, ‘if you wish peaceably to play the part of Questor and Prefect, having taken up the melancholy idea of representing the king’s government and the principle of authority in a city which submits *quietly* to one authority only—that which is nameless.’ Municipal and parliamentary elections know the Camorra power; the administration of justice has often bowed to it. A thief, an assassin, may be arrested; his guilt may be morally certain; and yet his release may be as certain. Either an unnameable pressure has been brought to bear on the magistrates, or the witnesses have been scared into silence and retractation by dark threats,

too well understood; and the offender goes free, to offend again with greater audacity. 'No Neapolitan citizen,' we are told, 'but has suffered once in his life, and accepted as inevitable, some overbearing act, some swindling, some transaction or other, essentially Camorristic.' Let us quote one such case out of thousands. 'De Matteo, an extremely dangerous criminal—known to have killed a fellow-offender when living exiled on an island—having succeeded in procuring the restoration of 250,000 stolen francs to an eminently respectable family, has been protected and aided by them.' The Camorra, when it chooses, can deal with an offender much more promptly than the law—and 'has its reward. It gives nothing for nothing. How profoundly demoralizing must be the constant recurrence of such transactions in any community is easily understood.

That 'juggling trick—to be secretly open,' is practised constantly by 'the sect'; its members work in the dark, yet do not shun the day. 'Every one knows them,' we learn, 'every one sees them triumph openly; in which Naples differs from all other civilized cities. Triumphant Usury drives on pilgrimage to Montevergine' (a famed Madonna shrine, specially affected by 'the sect'), 'suffocating its victims with dust from its wheels, oppressing them with a hateful show of vulgar luxury';¹ and the populace goes forth *en masse* to admire and applaud!

Is it possible for a people morally effeminated by centuries of such weak criminal compliance to free itself from this disease, which is a living organism bred in the flesh and blood of the race? Can it of its own power break the fatal chain, so craftily forged out of its own sins, which galls it? This terrible chain links thief, receiver, usurer, stabber, harlot, spy, corrupter of elections together for the greater enslavement of a people capable of noble things—as the heroic past has shown, and the painfully endeavouring present! What power could bring about its redemption, if it were

¹ *Il Mattino*, July 30, 1911.

true that 'in the darkest page of its civic history it sees only sensational excitement—in its own dishonour nothing but an interesting riddle to guess?'

But there are very many in Naples who do not take a view so mournfully frivolous of the situation. Some of these, dismayed by the apparent breakdown of the existing legal machinery, demand stronger legislation. If the common law fails, they say, let there be, as there was in the case of brigandage, an exceptional law—let usury, organized immorality, habitual crime, be dealt with by fire and sword!

It may well be that such a heroic remedy must be employed. But these revelations, showing how deep-seated is the moral disease of these fair regions, will surely quicken the zeal of the humble, scattered Christian workers who are toiling to pour the light of divine truth on the souls that sit there in darkness. For the true, complete salvation of Naples from the slavery wrought by its 'weakness and wickedness' can only come through the widespread awakening in its people of the true Christian conscience, the highest moral sense, which it now possesses so imperfectly.

ANNE E. KEELING.

THE LOLLARDS IN THE TIME OF RICHARD II¹

The lanterne of lyghtte
 Non fulget luce serena;
 Yt ys not alle aryght
 Populus bibit eccc venena.

SO sang a poet 'On the Times' of Richard II, and although there have always been men to say 'the times are out of joint,' then certainly it was a fact that 'Yt ys not alle aryght.' The laconic entrances in the official Patent Rolls are eloquent of the reigning state of disorder—wars and rumours of wars, murder, rapine, and assault with very tardy justice. The King's peace was not kept, and the quarrels and intrigues at Court strangled the central authority, whilst in the country bands of retainers defied all justice in maintaining the brigandage of their lords. England had been convulsed by a social revolution which led to the death of the Archbishop and the Chancellor of England, but the Parliament which should have dealt with the Peasants' Rising of 1381, devoted its attention primarily to the settlement of a private feud between the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland. The country groaned under the heavy taxation of a useless war, whilst the French without hindrance continued to ravage the south coasts of England. Life was not the secure and commonplace thing it is to-day. The roads were thronged by

¹ AUTHORITIES.—*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1377-99*. Extracts from the Close Rolls. *Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. II. Wilkins' *Concilia*, Vol. III. *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*. *Annales Richardi II* (Rolls Series). *Chronicle of the Monk of Evesham*. *Political Poems and Songs* (Edit. Wright. Rolls Series). *Wyclif's English Works* (Early English Text Society). *Select English Works of Wyclif* (Edit. Arnold). *Acts and Monuments* of Foxe.

wayfarers of all sorts and conditions, peasants out of bond, Friars, pilgrims, merchants, whilst the woods gave shelter to a strange company of cut-purse and hermit. This throng moved down the road of life in a half darkness, for the time of stress and strain in State and Society was also a time of religious depression—'the lanterne of lyghtte' had flickered and grown dim. The Church no longer gave light to guide the steps of earth's pilgrims. She was in serious danger of forfeiting her spiritual significance, and God's tribute was never more prone to find its way into Caesar's coffers. Religious life had lost the sense of reality, and, as always with such a calamity, the spirit had fled and left rule and letter sovereign. Bishops were wonderfully orthodox, but were often great magnates of the world and leaders of very earthly armies. The Bishop of Norwich gloried in his 'crowds of slain' at Gravelines and Dunkirk when on crusade against the schismatic Pope Clement VII. The monastic chronicler, Walsingham, is loud in his praise of these crusaders and 'the victory of the Cross': 'They marched forward towards the town sparing no one but striving to destroy them to the last man—and such was the potency of the Cross that the crusaders most gloriously took possession of the town and so destroyed the enemies of the Cross that not one amongst them escaped with his life.' The universal Church was torn by schism, and was busy settling its differences by means of the temporal arm. The greatest sin of the 'enemies of the Cross of Christ' was that they called the Head of the Church Clement instead of Urban, and had had the misfortune to become involved in the quarrel between England and France. These warrior bishops went gorgeously apparelled and kept up great retinues on the tithes of an oppressed people. The Church was losing her sympathy with the people. Here is a contemporary picture of the English labourer: 'poor men who may not pay rents to lords and their dymes and offerings to curates, and maintain their wife and child and live out of debt travail they never so

busily night and day.'¹ 'Lady Mede' had her devotees in all ranks of the clergy, and the religious orders were idle and mercenary. The Friars had forgotten the ideals of St. Francis and were suffering from the evils of mendicancy, whilst profession of poverty went side by side with growing luxury. The songs of the period are loud in their hatred and ridicule of the Friars, and the people were ready to stone their quondam friends. The priest had discovered that sin might be a lucrative evil, in fact, a blessing in disguise, and the poet would find many appreciative listeners among the Friars' victims—

Thai say thet thai distroye synne²
And thai mayntene men moste therinne.

And again—

A cure of soule they care not fore,³
So that they mowe much money take.

The times cried out for some physician to restore a healthy tone and spirit, and the Lollard movement came into being as a protest against such mockery and negligence. The Lollard priest stood for reality in religion, and his programme was 'to bere his shepe til his backe bend.'³ The movement was the first step which England took towards dissent, and it bears all the marks of a new venture. The Lollards of Richard II's day were not quite prepared to die for the hope that was in them, but rather met persecution with recantation and with a speedy disappearance to some other part of England. There was no rigid organization in the new sect, but its followers had a certain resemblance in cast of mind and in creed. The main characteristic of the Lollard was that of 'the preacher' simply, and it was only at Salisbury that any Church organization was attempted. Preachers may be scholars or peasants, and the Lollardy of Oxford birth was cherished by ploughman and

¹ *Wyclif's English Works.*

² Political Songs, 'Against the Friars.'

³ Political Songs, 'The Complaint of Piers Ploughman.'

artisan in the country. The University was purged of its heresy and the leading academic Lollards were not long in forsaking the new way, but 'the sawynge of mennes soulis'¹ was a message of true democracy, and was not without lasting appeal to the lower orders.

Leicester, Hereford, and London were the three chief centres of this expelled Lollardy. Northampton shows itself almost a Lollard town, Salisbury attempts the ordination of its ministers, whilst Nottingham, York, Bristol, Coventry, Reading, and Chichester have also Lollard communities. Wales yields an asylum for the hunted from Herefordshire, and there is an interesting mention of Ireland in the Patent Rolls of 1388-92. It was natural that Leicestershire should become a centre for the spread of Wyclif's doctrines, for it was to Lutterworth that he retired after his expulsion from Oxford, and in this country his teaching struck such root that the death of the master in 1384 did not mean the death of Lollardy—'there shall never be one lost good.'

The Leicester canon, in the *Knighton Chronicle*, complains bitterly of Lollard activity—there was 'never so much discord as now in these parts.' He has heard and seen the preachers, and his chronicle shows the swing of the movement—there is unbounded energy, desire to preach the new sect by every way and means, and a general 'throwing off of ease from the body.' There is never a good word for a Friar, and the preaching is always of the doctrines of Wyclif. The monastic chronicler is in despair: 'these opinions were appropriated by all and spread far and wide'; 'you scarcely could meet two men in the road but one of them was a disciple of Wyclif.' Outside Leicester there stood an old chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It became a place of retreat and communion, where the new tenets were discussed and the curious were ever welcome. Richard Waytestathe and William Smith, the chief inhabitants,

¹ Wyclif's *English Works*.

showed no reverence for the sacred house where they were lodged. When in need of firewood to cook some vegetables they burned the image of St. Katherine which still adorned the chapel, and made merry over the sacrilege—it is to be a second martyrdom for Katherine and perhaps will give her a chance of heaven. Lollardy was getting hold of the people, and herein lay its strength. The monastic chronicler, with his love for authority and decorum, writes down William Smith as of weak intellect, his love troubles have turned his head. But it is possible to read in him the serious man who finds life's pleasures fail him, but discovers what he seeks in the Lollard doctrines and sets himself to learn to read and write and takes a new interest in life: 'in those days the sect was held in great honour outside the wall.' In 1389 the Lollard community at Leicester was so aggressive that the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the diocese and excommunicated the heretics. The names of the accused give the status of the Lollard community there. The Church could make short work of such enemies as William Smith, Richard Waytetach (chaplain), Robert Dexter and his wife, Nicolas Tailor, M. Scryvener, John Harry, William Parchmener, and Roger Goldsmith. They held Lollard opinions as to tithes, images, a priest in mortal sin, confession and the Friars, and had sought to spread their views in the surrounding country, but the authority of King and Archbishop was too strong, and the humble fraternity was discredited. From these simple folk William Swynderby, who was to become an important man in Herefordshire, learned his first Lollardy. He was transformed from the hermit of the woods, with a grievance against the world, into the silver-tongued preacher of the countryside: 'the people cherished him like another God.'¹ This prophet of the new faith was too popular to be left at large, and although persecution at first gained him new adherents when he preached on the high-road from an impromptu pulpit of stones 'in the teeth

¹ Knighton.

of the bishop,' yet he is finally checked with excommunication and threat of death by fire. Swynderby retreats to Coventry, and we next hear of him in the west of England. Melton, Loughborough, and Harborough had heard his voice, now Monmouth and Hereford gave the discredited prophet a warm welcome. He is in Monmouth in 1390 and there receives letters from the Bishop of Hereford warning him not to preach. In August of the same year he preaches a notable sermon at Whitney (Herefordshire), of which the lord of the town keeps a copy in his enthusiasm. Many times Swynderby is cited to appear before the Bishop of Hereford, but the official entry shows that he evaded the honour: 'William Swynderby is long looked for.' The King and the Archbishop of Canterbury supplement the efforts of the Bishop of Hereford; but the Patent Rolls for 1392 show Swynderby's success in defying authority: 'To John Bishop of Hereford on his petition informing the King that although empowered by letters patent authorizing the Archbishop of Canterbury to arrest all preachers of unsound doctrine he has convicted William Swynderby and Stephen Belle to be excommunicated preaching in diverse parts of his diocese, yet he has been unable to do justice upon them either by ecclesiastical censures or by force of the King's commission, for they have betaken themselves to the parts of Wales where the commission does not run—with their abettors and accomplices.'

This mandate points to a growing Lollard community in Herefordshire. The authorities complain of 'tares which have too long a time sprung up here in our diocese.' One of William Swynderby's assured companions was a certain Walter Brute, whose name finds its way into one of the popular songs of the day, 'The Creed of Piers Ploughman.' He himself is described as 'lay-man and learned,' and his answers in Latin are of voluminous bulk, with many references to Scripture and to the Fathers. Brute is summoned for trial, but follows Swynderby's example of evasion, and

calls forth mandates to the Mayor of Hereford, one Thomas Oldecastle, to bring the defaulter to justice. Brute is finally brought to book, recants his heresy, and makes public confession at the market-cross in Hereford. The witnesses at his trial bear witness to the extent of Lollard influence in the west country—they come from Llanwin (Montgomery), from English Byknore (Forest of Dean) and from Whiteborne (north of the Malvern Hills). Walter Brute was accused of 'lurking and running into corners' when wanted for his heretical preaching by the authorities, and the deep woods and quiet glades of the Forest of Dean country would provide welcome shelter to the hunted Lollard. The spread of Lollardy in these west-country districts is especially important in the light of its later history, for it was in such atmosphere that the youth of Sir John Oldecastle was passed. He was Lord of the Manor of Almeley in Herefordshire, where William Swynderby had once been a vigorous preacher.¹ The countryside was permeated with Lollard influence, and the towns were familiar with the travelling preachers. The future hero of the Lollard cause would receive many a vivid impression from trials in the Cathedral, a mayor under injunctions from the King, and open recantations in the market-place.

The streets of fourteenth-century London have their story of early Lollardy as well as the lanes of Leicestershire and the woods of Hereford. In the city it was to the lower orders that Lollardy appealed, and the chroniclers lay stress on the zeal of 'the humble citizens' or 'the most vile of the citizens.'² Politics and religion were in close contact in London, and the people were alive and interested, even the Bishop of Rochester gives them credit for intelligence: 'in London there is greater devotion and the people are more intelligent—greater fruit may be expected from

¹ Foxe gives a mandate against Swynderby addressed by the Bishop to 'my dear sons the parsons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney.'

² Walsingham, *Chron. Ang.*: "simplices cives."

preaching.' The Lollard movement in London became connected with a political and municipal quarrel, the democratic party espousing the new dissent. The quarrel was one for free rights in the city between the lesser and the greater guilds. The victualling guilds, such as the fishmongers and the grocers, comprised the greater guilds, and had a monopoly of power in the city; invariably the mayor was chosen from amongst them, and they regulated the trade of the city to advantage their own pockets. John of Northampton led the lesser guilds of tailoring, drapers, &c., in a crusade against this monopoly of interest and power, and found that the tenets of the Lollards fitted well with his more democratic mind and aims for reform. The Chroniclers state that 'they were stirred up in this by John Wyclif and his followers in despite to the clergy.' For, strangely enough, the Church seemed the enemy of the people by its more aristocratic leanings in a people's quarrel. This connexion between the people's guilds and the London Lollards is borne out by other records of the times. King Richard's mandate to the mayor and sheriff of London in 1391, against those who cherish heretical opinions, describes the offenders as 'lay men and artisans.' It was a member of the lesser guilds who first introduced Lollardy at Northampton, 'James Collyn—sometime a prentice at the trade of Mersery in London refuseinge his arte to become a Lollard.' A Lollard tract denouncing monks and Friars shows the same bias, 'also it seemeth that merchant grocers and victuallers run in the same curse fully.'¹

In 1387 there is record of a typical Lollard disturbance in London, where doctrines of grace, sins of Friars, and class prejudice are strangely mingled, and are supported in addition by those who love any disturbance. A certain chaplain, Peter Pateshille, released from his order of Augustinian Friars, came in contact with Lollardy, and began to publish the crimes of his former brethren. Such a

¹ *Select English Works of Wyclif.*

sermon would not want hearers, for the Friars were not loved in London or elsewhere. There were nearly a hundred Lollards gathered to hear Pateshille at the Church of St. Christopher, and there he 'vomited out the crimes of the Friars to the horror of those hearing.' The Friars of the Augustine convent soon heard what was on foot, and twelve of their number came to the church and were greatly disturbed by what they heard. One of them, more zealous for his Order than the rest, contradicted the preacher and gave the ideal opportunity for a demonstration. The Lollards rise with a rush and throw the Friar out, for the gentle art of eviction was understood quite well even then. The other eleven brothers follow, to be torn and beaten and lashed with angry words outside: 'we despise homicides, we will burn these Sodomites,' and then a curious patriotic turn, 'we will hang the traitors of the King and of England.' By such means Lollardy made headway in London. Malvern's chronicle pays it this tribute of importance: 'In full Parliament a great rumour broke out concerning the Lollards and their preaching, by which foolish and simple were perverted and even the rich were greatly infected with the Lollard opinions.' Some few of the knights of the Queen-Mother's household had espoused the Lollard cause, but their Lollardy was short-lived. Their agitation in 1395 brought King Richard back from Ireland, and he soon put an end to their new opinions—the Lollards of England were to remain emphatically the People.

The above narrative of Lollard activity in England during the reign of Richard II gives some picture of the movement. Disturbed sermons and unseemly demonstrations, extravagant language and irreverence, flying Swynderbys and recanting Smiths scarcely suggest 'the vision splendid.' Yet behind all there is something true, noble, and eternal. Authority regarded the enthusiasts as seeking 'the utter destruction of order and good rule.'¹ The orthodox

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, II.

regarded them as tares sown by the enemy in the fair garden of the Church. The popular minstrel called them heretics, schismatics, and madmen in one. But the answer of Swynderby is convincing: 'For God wot for hele I did it of mine own and of the people, and that was in my mind. But sire it seems to me that ye charge not so greatly the breaking of God's hests as ye done of your own. And sire if it be your will in default that the people wanted you to teach them, and their curates did not, by the desire of the people that weren hungrie and thirsty after God's word each one to bear up others charge as God's Law bids—I preached—not for disobedience to you, but sire in fulfilling of the obedience that God's Law bids me to.' Here is a man who dares to set the priest aside and feel the burden of souls upon his own heart and conscience. The echo of the Lollard doctrine passed into Bohemia, and later to a canon of the order of St. Augustine, who dared to withstand Pope and Emperor 'in fulfilling of the obedience that God's Law bids me to.' The Methodists of the eighteenth century woke the strain again, 'Single yet undismayed I am—I dare believe in Jesu's name'—when shall we again hear it, for the memory of England is short?

The Lollards were knit by a kind of freemasonry; they were emphatically people of the Way.¹ Thorpe, a member of the community, expressed it as 'to feel right homely with one another,' and many other instances might be cited. William Smith in his chapel outside Leicester Wall welcomed all to his abode if their heart were as his, 'for here was hospitality and entertainment for all who came.' At Northampton there is the same report: 'all ribauids infected with Lollardy that came into the said toune are all courteously received and mainetayned as if they were prophets before all others.' From Herefordshire comes the same testimony to the friendship of those of the Way, 'For I come oft into men's houses,' remarks Swynderby the

¹ *The Monk of Evesham*: 'secundum viam Johannis Wycliff.'

outlawed. The travelling preacher bound the sect together in mutual knowledge and sympathy, and was responsible for much of the 'family' feeling. The Lollard had all the excitement of bearing down on the preacher after his sermon and of carrying him off to the home for conversation and refreshment, or as a disbeliever puts it, 'and after the said maior and Lollardes with great pride and jollite ledd the fals preacher to the house of the Maior.' Wyclif had given his followers a prescription and a reason for such social intercourse 'that men should eaten in good measure that their wits be more sharp and they more able to serve God.' It is not the ascetic who speaks, but the friend of the 'wayfaring men' in their own homes. Dr. Stalker says, 'Not once nor twice has the religion of Christ, when driven out of the Church, which had been turned by faithless ministers and worldly members into a synagogue of Satan, found an asylum in the home.' Here the follower of Wyclif found his strength. Family religion was involved in that greater freedom from priest control for which the Lollard stood. Wyclif had a tract to his people in their homes 'of this may wedded men and wifes know how thei owen lyve togedir and teche thier children Goddis Lawe.' The Lollard 'society' was a wider expression of this family religion. Their unity impressed contemporaries, and the orthodox chronicler Knighton gives it well: '*unum modum statim loquelae et formam concordem suae doctrinae mirabiliter habuerunt.*' The official mandates against the sect speak constantly of 'conventicles and confederacies,' and the political songs of the period show how prone the Lollards were to gather together for mutual comfort in the goodness of their Way, or for mutual resistance to authority.

The prominence of the home and of the society amongst the Lollards implies that they had discovered the importance of the 'lay agent.' To the orthodox he was anathema as 'laicus Lollardus,' and a glance at the list of suspect

'confederacies' will show the prominence of the layman.¹ One Taylleur at Nottingham has to promise 'never more to maintain and teach' Lollard doctrines. The Leicester-shire Lollards also bearing the names of their trades are condemned for 'sowing the heresies' in the country round. A list of forty-two names suspect at Northampton show Draper, Warriner, Taylour, and Couper amongst their number, whilst the Mayor was their notorious leader, who 'hath made the whole toun in manner to become Lollardes so that the whole toun is gouerned by them.' Wyclif had condemned an exclusive priesthood 'who would fain that all Goddis Lawe were hanging on them for to supply the people,' and the people of England were to hear for their comfort 'who is in most charity is best heard of God be he shepherd or layman or in the Church or in the field.'² The 'lanterne of lyghtte' had passed from the custody of the priest, and religion came forth from the sanctuary and mingled with the hubbub of everyday business in marketplace and fair. It found its disciples in the open field and in the streets of the city, and spoke of a very real Presence, 'When the shepherd on the moor names the name of God.' In the language of Wyclif, 'a Pater Noster is medeful under the cope of heaven—for whoso liveth best he prayeth best.' There was a new reality and a new vigour about it all—an open-air swing and a new freedom. John Wesley by his field preaching won the masses of England to a new reality of sin and salvation, and it was emphatically to the masses that the Lollard appealed—to 'sinners, lay persons, and simple souls.'³ It is interesting to notice how this first 'dissent' gripped the lower classes, for it has been a lasting characteristic of dissent that it appeals to the man in the street. Along with this class cleavage goes the difference in political thought which is traceable to-day

¹ Wilkins' *Concilia*. Close Rolls.

² *Wyclif's English Works*.

³ Foxe, 'Defence of Walter Brute.'

as in the fourteenth century. The political and religious opinions of the Lollard became confused, or rather were mutually responsible for one another. It was a time when the people were beginning to come to their own, the spirit of democracy was abroad, and the capitalist and landowner might tremble. The Peasants' Revolt was typical of the new spirit. 'Freedom and 4d. an acre' was the cry, translatable in the twentieth century by many words but with much the same meaning at the back of it. To such champions of social freedom the new religious freedom appealed irresistibly, for the peasant had a way of linking on the spiritual to his prosaic earthly needs. Here is his song as he marches on London—

John the Miller hath yground small, small, small.
The King's Son of heaven shall pay for all.¹

Wyclif and his followers were only very indirectly responsible for any share in the Peasants' Rising, but it is significant that all the chroniclers charge the Lollards with complicity. The town of Northampton is particularly interesting in the way it has sustained its character for dissent and liberal politics. In Richard II's day it was a Lollard town, and the bishop's commissioners could be safely defied by an independent mayor, whilst 'Tailours' formed the opposition. In Chartist times the same trade is prominent at Northampton, which is a Chartist town, whilst to-day it remains Nonconformist in creed and Liberal in politics. The Lollards of the fourteenth century were the humble progenitors of no unworthy succession.

The importance which the Lollards attached to preaching went hand in hand with this appeal to the people. The name flung at them by the crowd, if it be derived from the old German *lollen*, *lullen*, to hum or whine, betokened their gift of speech. At least they were famous for their talking powers, and annoyed the orthodox accordingly,

¹ Walsingham.

as 'Knighton' writes them down 'valide in verbis—in garulis fortes,' or Gower in his *Confessio Amantis*—

Nought holy, though thei feigne and blowe
Her Lollardy in menes ere.

Indignation against the false, the degenerate Friar, the worldly prelate, made the Lollard sermon in great part, and the whole rang with a constant refrain 'the knowynge of Goddis Law.' That phrase looks out from almost every page of Wyclif's sermons and tracts, and it formed the culmination of every sermon to which the Leicester folk listened, as 'Knighton' complains, 'Talem enim habebant terminum in omnibus suis dictis semper praetendendo legem Dei, Goddis Lawe.' The Lollard preachers seem to have discovered the art of holding their congregations. Bishop Brunton of Rochester used telling illustration and declaimed against those 'dumb dogs' of bishops, but he complains of the lack of response to his preaching and deplores the success of those 'extraordinary teachers skilled in tickling the ears of the people.' Another unsolicited testimonial to the interest of the Lollard sermon is found in the statute against them—'they stir and incite' the people.

Wyclif had done something to train his preachers and give them sermon outlines. His sermons on the Gospel for the Day have notes of instruction at the end. After the discourse on the Rich Man and Lazarus we read: 'In this Gospel may priests tell of false pride of rich men and of lustful life of mighty men of this world, and of long pains of hell and joyful bliss of heaven, and thus lengthen their sermon as the time asks.' It is possible to find an echo of these sermons in the discourses of Wyclif's followers. The Leicestershire chronicler who heard Aston and Purvey preach and entered some of their remarks in his chronicle, has Wyclif's 'Whoso liveth best he prayeth best' turned into the counterpart in Latin. Whilst we find trace that Aston must have availed himself of Wyclif's sermon for

Palm Sunday, for when he preached on that Sunday at Leicester, the master's phrase 'the pain of Christ's Passion passed all other,' is echoed in the disciple's 'Quod poena Christi quam sustinerit in passione fuit major quam tota poena inferni,' recorded by Knighton.

But the individual Lollard added the local colour for himself and filled up with emotion what he lacked in matter.¹ It was the enthusiasm that told, that power to stir those who 'leggen riht hevye as led,' and to make even such exclaim, 'a verie profett speaking with the tongue of an angell.' The Lollard felt his responsibility, he did not spare himself in his sermons; he preached to convince and adopted popular methods. Above all he had the sympathy of the labouring man, and was 'right homely' with the poor. The sermons read heavily—there is a weary iteration of Scribes and Pharisees in the garb of monks and Friars, and the interpretation of the most living parables is crude. The inn and the two pennies in the story of the Good Samaritan must all be pressed into the service. But that was not how the sermons went in the village church or the Leicestershire lane of fourteenth-century England. The Friar was a real figure then, and the Lollard did not refrain from the personal name—he could be merry at the expense of these 'false prechours' with their inevitable 'collection' and the reflection 'that all this private religion makes not such a legion of saints in Heaven.'² The well-fed, idle monk, with the empty 'blabber of the lypes,' would be another fruitful butt to those who were near neighbours to very real monastery walls.

The Bishop of Norwich's crusade would provide material for another successful topical hit and for ridicule which might explode the once solemn indulgence, as Swynderby

¹ Knighton: 'Et sic quod non poterant recta ratione quasi pugnanti impetuositate cum voce clamosa et turbida et artisonis verbis supplebant.'

² *Select English Works of Wyclif.*

says, 'If bulls be the indulgence that men bringen from the court then be they not so much worth as they cost there; for lightlie they might be lost, drenched, brent, or a rat might eaten them—his indulgence then were lost.'¹ But there could be passion too: 'Lord what mirror of meekness is this that bishops and priests, monks and canons and friars, that should be meek and patient and lamb-like among wolves be more proud arrayed in armour and other costs of war and more cruel in their own cause than any other lord or tyrant.'² The Lollard knew how to use both the light and the heavy weapon; to make an impression by the mysterious and the awe-ful. The Friar's sermons dealt in fables and marvels; the Lollard thundered in phrases of the Book of the Revelation with the added weight of the Prophets. 'Babylon the great city has fallen'—'Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord.'³ The more gentle appeal was found in the reality of the example of Christ—the prayer in Galilean hills 'a great while before day,' and the preaching in Jerusalem and 'the little upland towns of Cana and Bethfage.'⁴ The Lollard was vivid and true—he spoke from experience, and to him the unseen was the real: it was not material pain that made purgatory, even the saints suffer in that cry 'How long?' 'And they were bidden abide a while, and that is a pain.'⁵ It was no wonder that there was indignation at prayer to the 'Wyche' of Walsingham, 'deaf image,' or pilgrimage to the Cross of the North Door, 'that mere stump of worm-eaten wood.' Their grasp of the spiritual and the real was the secret of the Lollards' power. In the struggle of all Church history between authority and experience they were found amongst the 'heretics' who stood for 'the freedom of God's Law.' It is significant in the wording of the statute against them

¹ Foxe.

² *Select English Works of Wyclif.*

³ Foxe, *The Teaching of Walter Brute.*

⁴ *Select English Works of Wyclif*: 'How Christ preached the Gospel.'

⁵ Foxe, *The Teaching of Walter Brute.*

in the year 1400 that the sin of erroneous thinking on the Sacraments and authority of the Church heads the list—in his recantation the Lollard must promise to be ‘buxom to the laws of Holy Church.’ That very obedience would involve a cessation of the loved preaching, and a poor ‘heretic’ on the banks of Wye should give the answer: ‘The fishers of God should wash their nets in this river, for Christ’s preachers should cleanly tell of God’s Law and not meddle with man’s law, that is troubled water—for man’s law containeth sharp stones and trees by which the net of God is broken, and fishes wenden out to the world.’ The inspiration of the Lollard preacher was personal religion, his enthusiasm was to save souls ‘wending out to the world.’ He chafed at blind authority and the dead weight of system, and could rise to the real eloquence of passion in the face of such opposition. It is Palm Sunday, and there is talk of a Sepulchre with watch and seal, and the sermon has an application: ‘And thus done our high priests. They dread them that God’s Law shall quicken after this, and they make statutes stable as a stone, and they get grants of knights to confirm them. And this they mark well with witness of lords lest that truth of God’s Law hid in the Sepulchre burst out to the knowing of the common people. O Christ! Thy Law is hid there—when wilt Thou send Thine angel to remove the stone and show the Truth to Thy folk?’¹ Altogether too revolutionary—that stone were surely better left sealed, for ‘the weak mind of man cannot comprehend the eternal and exalted God.’ So speaks a contemporary poet, pessimistic but orthodox.² So men still say who know not of the risen Christ, with His message of grace and sonship for all who believe on His name.

G. ELSIE HARRISON.

¹ *Wyclif's Select English Works.*

² Gower, *The Corruptions of the Age.* ‘Infirma mens hominis non capit alta Dei.’

A NEW CHRISTIAN SYNTHESIS

‘**F**OR geometries in which curved surfaces and not fixed planes are studied, the axioms of Euclid are either all or partially false.’ ‘As the physicist postulates the ether to explain gravitation and the processes of Nature, so the metaphysician and theologian find it necessary to assume something like the fourth dimension.’ Zöllner declares this natural world is but ‘a shadow cast by a more real *four-dimensional world*.’

We want now a metaphysic which will satisfy Idealism and Positivism and Pragmatism, by accepting and assimilating whatever is good and permanent in them, because, as Hegel said, no temple is complete without its holy of holies. Nor can we dispense with a reformed ethic which demonstrates that all life has a natural sweetness of its own, as Aristotle saw. And we dare not neglect the propylaeum of a searching psychology. But whatever happens, let us hope we shall not return to the life of Nature. Indeed, one may feel absolutely certain that we never can resuscitate the cult or creed of the noble savage and practise any kind of gymnosophy. Richard Jefferies, perhaps, sometimes desired this impossible reversion and played with the pretty idea as a child plays with a new toy. Though a keen and close and accurate observer of Nature, his enthusiasms now and then transported him into realms of poetry which bore no resemblance or relation to sober worlds of fact. For instance, in this rhapsodical outburst, ‘Endless succession of labour! Shall we never know how to lighten it, how to live with the flowers, the swallows, the sweet delicious shade and the murmur of streams?’ Now, as an obvious matter of fact, no farm labourer, no

convict, no slave, works so hard and so early and so late as the swallow. Its daring and dazzling excursions of flight, its sudden raptures of rising and falling, its passionate pursuit like the swift movements and bird-like sweep of the best lyrical poetry, while overflowing with the inspiration of ardent life, are nevertheless purely business-like, and represent in reality but the perpetual hawking for its prey and food. If we were obliged to put forth a tithe of the swallows' daily toil, we should break down. Botanists also might tell us, and tell us truly, that even the flowers are far from idle. '*They toil not, neither do they spin*' like us, and God feeds and clothes them. But they work likewise and work hard, in the vital processes which they practise and obey. What are the lions that support the throne of life, if not hunger and thirst and need? We must look behind at the *operatio* even more than at the *opus*. And then we shall find the secret lies '*Magis in operatione quam in opere*.' Meanwhile, we may not rest on our oars, we must count nothing done till all is done—which will never be, for souls that seek the unattainable and infinite.

In displacing the Hellenic ideal of Justice by that of Love, Christianity offered to thought and to life a practical principle and also an impossible standard for work. It still remains a conception unexhausted and inexhaustible. Man, the first freedman of Creation, as Herder said, finds in each successive age new circumstances for new applications of this ideal. Eternally true, eternally it changes its front and form as different conditions demand. That which bewilders multitudes and produces despair in some, is and always will be the glaring contradiction between profession and practice, the divorce between high thinking and low doing. Religion and conduct seem separated by an impassable gulf. Creeds and ethics even now and then appear to be at variance—*digladiantur*. But, from a larger and loftier point of view, and *sub specie aeternitatis*,

the antagonism offers a most salutary sign. It is a perpetual witness to the advance of light and truth all along the line. We simply observe the ancient conflict from the beginning, '*I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed : it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*' Evil pays to good the compliment of hatred and opposition, when not imitating it by some cunning counterfeit. The greater the discrepancy, the greater the final gain. It testifies to life and movement, to persistent progress, and increase in the contents of our moral and spiritual values. The pioneer of Christianity's new principle of universal brotherhood and the solidarity of the race recognizes, in the estrangement of practice from profession, his supreme opportunity. He perceives the weakness and unfruitfulness of mere orthodoxy and immutable tradition. For what does it ultimately signify ? It means the confession of failure which inevitably suggests the right solution. The hostility of the Church to the world, of religion to culture, possesses no real vitality or useful reference now. 'The understanding does not derive its laws from Nature, but prescribes them to Nature.' And so it must hold with Christianity. At the outset, the Church conquered the world and then the world conquered the Church. The present acknowledged division between religion and conduct means that people have accepted the estimates and rules of the world as their working guides, and agreed to maintain the two apart in isolated compartments. But the Church should have imposed, not its dogmas but its law of Love upon the world, and saturated the world with its splendid spirit, instead of abiding aloof as a sacred caste, and when not engaged in solemn services bowing down in the temple of Rimmon and burning incense there. The reproach lies at the door of religion, from its false method and official attitude. Accordingly, the Church has been secularized, when the world should have been consecrated. Methods and machinery require

a revolutionary change immediately. Baptized into the modern spirit, the Church must adventure on a new crusade with modern appliances. To encounter society of the present day with ancient or mediaeval instruments and forms, is surely as hopeless as meeting Maxims with bows and arrows or slings and stones. Religion needs broadening out, it cannot be confined any longer to closed systems or authoritative ceremonial. The distinction drawn between the secular and the sacred will have to be abandoned. It is these artificial dichotomies that are responsible for so much misery and enmity. Whatever is good or true or beautiful, is also sacred. It cannot possibly be otherwise. Mr. W. Warde Fowler has shown that the distinction between sacred and secular did not and could not exist among ancient peoples, when every act was a religious act. And we need a return to this sublime simplicity. We worship God in any honest work as well as when we are upon our knees. *Laborare est orare*. Not that the Church is to grow less or do less, but on the contrary to grow more and do more. It will merely extend its benediction to all times and all places, and add sanctification to every kind of useful and honourable labour. Services will be multiplied and not diminished, while the Church will be all things to all men, and carry its consolations and peace everywhere, and transform the lowliest workshop into a little sanctuary. Religion, with its message of mercy and infinite hope, with its sweetness and sacraments, must penetrate the most indifferent and outlying provinces of industry, piercing each crack and crevice, and leaven them all with larger ideas and kindlier aspirations. In a very true sense, it will be found necessary for the sacred to be secularized, no less than for the secular to be consecrated. Fresh accommodations are matters of obligation, as thoughts and feelings and ambitions change with changing times and the 'eternal process moving on.' A new *modus vivendi*, a new harmony, a new

meeting-place, whatever we call it, soon rises to the surface and offers the desired opportunity for reconciliation of different but not incompatible claims. And these readjustments, not of character but of conduct, not of principle but of practice, often emerge as it were automatically and establish the required relations by a sort of happy chance. The spirit, working below, and governing all fresh departures, has its own spontaneous expressions and a divine casualness which exceeds and anticipates the most careful and deliberate designs. The prophets of the Renaissance and the Reformation had no intention of breaking with the past, as Eucken tells us, or initiating a new era, but would have returned to the purity and simplicity of the past—as they imagined it. So the novel development was rather progressive by accident than of set purpose. Modernism implies something very similar. The return to the supposed primitive liberty, the healthy childlike views of the early and divided centuries, which really never existed, will never happen. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Becoming, taught Hegel, is the truth of being. None can escape from the forward movement, none can discover any deliverance in this warfare. But, we must not forget, the world has to conform to our thoughts, and not our thoughts to the world. Creation really rests with us, or rather with the Church and religion. It has been alleged, we think on insufficient grounds, that freedom of decision has been excluded by evolution. But on what argument? We are always free to serve, and free to choose the necessities laid upon us by a given environment and given materials. We feel ourselves free, though within limits, to develop our own personalities and go our own way. And we act accordingly. History, with individual liberty thrown in, does not appear opposed to evolution. The bird in its cage is free—to fly from perch to perch, and follow its own desires, though not beyond the circumscribed space. And we have infinitely more liberty.

It may be that the present distress or discord between profession and practice, Christianity and conduct, which we should consider a hopeful symptom, the difference which precedes variety in unity and the reconciliation of a grander synthesis, has all along been blindly groping for a new metaphysic and even a new ethic. Perhaps the old Greek methods of Plato and Aristotle are gradually relinquishing their ancient hegemony to make room for fresh and more helpful and modern if not greater principles. The increasing taste for Oriental philosophies seems pointing in this direction. Of course, no system of thought was ever wasted or can ever be lost. It is taken up into its successors, and in its subsumption assimilated and ultimately incorporated in a fresh expansion of speculative thought. Plato and Aristotle and all the great metaphysicians live now and always must live in language and the common stock of ideas from which we all drink new life. Their conceptions, however disguised and modified, are part and parcel of our thinking capital or intellectual currency, and constitute an eternal possession. Nevertheless, whether we begin with particulars or universals, with God or the world or self, the approaches to the truth have not been exhausted even now. Life has many sides, and when we have conquered and mapped out one another arises above and beyond, and discovery leads to discovery and light to light. Deep calls to deep, height calls to height, and only from the topmost pinnacles of thought can we conjecture anything like unity of thought. Old moralities have been thrown into the melting-pot by speculators such as Nietzsche and others, and standards beyond good and evil surmised. We shall certainly have to revise some of our old ethical or unethical notions as to honour and benevolence and love. It may be, perhaps, that such conceptions as right and liberty and altruism will require purification and re-statement. Our measuring rules must reach farther and wider, our philosophical plummets must sink lower

and lower, we must endeavour to get outside, above and 'at the back o' beyant,' for our new morals and metaphysics. We see every sign of mental revolt, from which religion (Christianity) cannot conceivably escape. What is the significance or goal of progress, what the ultimate burden of meaning itself, what the final definition of truth relative and absolute? What shall we understand by good, when we know that nothing ever was or is or will be good at all times and in all places and to all persons? Are we at the mercy of a hopeless relativity? Is there no centre of persistency in the eternal flux? The true and the good and the beautiful vary with the periods, and yet we feel they have centralities and inwardnesses that do not vary. The better must be the enemy of the good, the larger truth of the lesser, and the higher artistry of the lower.

Change and decay in all around I see :
O Thou who changest not, abide with me !

We shall not establish fruitful relations with the world or with Nature by ignoring or depreciating or denying or forsaking them, but by profounder and more intimate relationships. To comprehend or rather apprehend anything, we must enter into it. And by acknowledging our dependence we shall realize our independence, and accomplish the emancipation of the catholic judgement. ¶ *Securus judicat orbem terrarum*. And when the world and Nature have been envisaged and appropriated by thought, we shall understand them through the light of the unity in difference. The antagonism remains, but it is intelligent and reconciled and transfigured. Athenagoras said, 'About God it is possible to learn only from God.' Yes, but what if we are divine ourselves, and have inspired the '*Divinae particula aurae*'? The centre of gravity for thought will be found, not, as some writers believe, in the future, but in the Divine Moment of the actual and present, when held and lived *sub specie Christi*—the eternal Element. He, and He

alone, can and does spiritualize everything, all the relations of life. He gathers up in Himself the good and the true and the beautiful, the permanent and essential parts of the Hellenic and scientific interpretations of fact, and adds the consummating and consecrating finality of Himself. Science, phenomenology, owes its very existence to the transformations of the Christ Spirit, which makes it intelligible and gives it the repudiated but inevitable teleology. It justifies its being and elucidates its points by stolen weapons, the logic of Love and Sacrifice. It sharpens the edges of its instruments on the Cross. The actual and the factual build from the ideas and ideals of Christianity. Art itself without some ethical interest or religious reference, unless it embraces some Christian elements, never convinces us or captures our hearts.

The danger always was, that Christianity should begin and end in mere sentiment, in violent emotion, in a refined and cultivated inwardness, in spiritual aspirations that were content to aspire alone. We run a risk of the exact opposite now. So many make a religion out of philanthropy or a militant and aggressive beneficence, because of the immediate visible results. We cannot dispense with this, no doubt, but we desiderate far more. This may be mechanical and external, and co-exist with a mean, crawling and materialistic life. It is often a purple patch that covers without concealing the grossest kind of animalism or greed. Christianity has abolished slavery, elevated the position of women, made life sacred, vindicated for man liberty of conscience and the right of private judgement, while bestowing liberty of thought and action. All the great reforms and budding points of mediaeval and modern times, directly or indirectly, have had behind them the sanction of the Cross even when the Church itself has opposed them. Each upward and onward movement implied the [inspiration of Christ, and the prayer asked was the prayer answered. As Juliana of Norwich said in 1373,

anticipating Pascal, 'I am sure that no man asketh for mercy and grace with true meaning, without mercy and grace being first given to him. For it is most impossible that we should beseech mercy and grace and not have them. For everything that our good Lord maketh us to beseech, Himself hath ordained for us from without beginning.' And if we demand now not simply a working compromise between profession and practice, between Christianity and the world, but an interpretation and vital community of the two elements, we shall have them—provided our demand be sincere and therefore Christodidact and therefore effective. '*Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you.*' Because the gift has been received, the treasure has been found, and the door has been opened already on the eternal plane. Whether we think with Comte or Hegel, we must not merely accept and arrange our experiences systematically, which involves very little effort. But we must go on to transform them, by carrying them up into the life of the spirit. They have to become part of our capital, dynamic centres, driving forces, energizing all we do. The ultimate interpretation of life being spiritual, we proceed to spiritualize our possessions. And to spiritualize is the only way to unify them. Thus, and in no other way, will oppositions be overcome and the harmonization be complete. Hegel's mistake was to consider things too much as a closed system instead of being eternally open and eternally progressive. It could not be otherwise, perhaps, with a philosophy of history. The *adaequatio intellectus et rei* cannot terminate. Each new age gives a *re-adaequatio*. Man has to project himself into the natural world by means of science, and on the other hand he compels the cosmos (*vincitur parendo*) to receive its baptism and final explanation (*till the next finality*) in the mint of his own mind and spirit. But let us not forget that when the system is made the system has already been transcended, and by a kind of self-criticism

and self-decomposition tends automatically to disintegrate into antagonistic tendencies in search of a fresh and fuller unity, which again invites new systems once more to be overcome and enlarged and left behind, with all their valuable and permanent factors absorbed and assimilated in their successors. The gravitation now seems towards increasing inwardness, as if the Occidental were to be baptized into the Oriental spirit, while the invisible is attacked from every side. Our religion, which came from the East and has many roots in Asiatic faiths and mysteries, appears to be returning to its source for renewed inspiration. And we can learn much from such a source, if only that every act should be a religious act and every meal a sacrament, and that life in its thousand thousand aspects is sacred and not secular. The last orientation of the human mind unquestionably points to a spiritualization of every department of activity, whether business or pleasure. A new dawn seems breaking, with new doors and windows into eternity.¹

Ros'd all in lively crimson ar thy cheeks,
Whear beawties indeflourishing abide.

F. W. ORDE WARD.

¹ This article is the preface to a volume entitled *Falling Upwards*, which Mr. Orde Ward is about to publish.

JAMES SMETHAM'S ESSAYS

THE purpose of this article is to call attention to what we believe to be the greatest undiscovered country in recent prose, James Smetham's Essays. A certain amount of recognition has come to the Letters, though even this has been inadequate and disappointing. But the Essays are still the enthusiasm of the few, whereas they should be the enjoyment of the many. We are convinced that there is nothing in English literature quite like these Essays. They are clearly the work of a painter, not only in their wealth of carefully finished detail, but still more so in their spaciousness. They remind us of an open landscape, infinitely rich, infinitely diversified; as are all the works of Smetham's mind, they are marked by a large leisureliness. We are shown the vast lines upon which his intellect wrought, the grand absence of all that could cramp and fetter. They are but five in number, and were all, we understand, written in response to urgent solicitation. This is probably the reason for their utter freedom from all that marks the professional writer's work. They are, in a very noble sense indeed, the recreations of a man of genius, who had entire and splendid access to two regions of art, but chose to make his abode in one.

Of the four included in the Eversley edition, Smetham's editor (William Davies, himself a most remarkable man) apparently considered the essay on Sir Joshua Reynolds to be the best. Our own preference leans to that on Blake,¹ but the essay in question is, as Mr. Davies says, 'undoubtedly

¹ Dr. W. B. Pope, then editor of this REVIEW, wrote to his colleague, Dr. Rigg, on April 10, 1868, 'I have a really brilliant effusion on Blake from Smetham for January.' Rossetti regarded the article as 'the best and most penetrative review of Blake's life and character that had appeared.' See *Life of J. H. Rigg, D.D.*, p. 264.

a notable production.' 'Its fine literary style, its compendious and comprehensive survey, its illustrative and well-ordered array of facts'—the praise is well chosen and deserved. The essayist reminds us of a prince who from a mount of vantage brings under easy purview a vast tract of neighbouring territory. Every hillock is noted, every silver streak as it hurries away into the distance is known; climbing range and dipping valley, tufted forest and stretching champaign, all are brought under the leisurely sweep of this keen observer's eyes. The amount of information contained in it is amazing; the style is marked throughout by a quiet strength, suggestive of enormous reserves, and realizing Keats' description of poetry as 'Might half slumbering on its own right arm.' Extraordinary as is the wealth of detail poured out, we feel that the mind which is entertaining us has an almost inexhaustible array of knowledge in reserve, and has given us the merest selection from its stores.

In his remarks on pictures, here as always, Smetham writes with fastidious adequacy and loving charm. How noble and winning the style is! How well characterized are the 'wit, with his jest simmering on his features,' and 'the dilettante fingering his gem or his gem-like glass of wine'! How splendid are the dicta on the great exponents of his own art! Reynolds, says Smetham, '*fished for* such ideas as did not walk in the daylight. They never rose spontaneously from the deep, and the genii, caught by guile, sulk and are uneasy on his canvas.' He is no less fine in his remarks on Fuseli and Romney and Gainsborough. The Reynolds essay, perhaps more than any other part of his work, makes us realize how universal were his interests. How leisurely and discursive he is! And yet everything he says—and the essay is a long one, some nineteen thousand words, we should judge—seems strictly relevant. A casual criticism of Reynolds by Taylor leads our writer into an invaluable reverie on the worth of

'verbal analysis' of pictures; and in the ripeness of his wisdom he reminds us that 'the finest criticisms are mere finger-posts to mark the road on which they do not travel.' The American Revolution, Goldsmith, Johnson, all furnish pegs for his golden comment. The whole is a piece of work so stately and serious, so weighty and free from mere surface-glitter, that we cannot but believe that Time, after pondering it with a sober delight, will find it far too valuable for stowage in that wallet 'wherein he puts alms for oblivion.' Our reason for ranking it below the essay on Blake is that we do not find in it any prose which is quite so gloriously felicitous as passage after passage in the latter piece of work. This is not a fault; it is a merit. The exalted style of the Blake essay would be out of keeping with the sober and fashionable and eminently successful painter of our eighteenth century. The fault is with Sir Joshua Reynolds, in that he gave Smetham so little excuse to bring forth from his armoury of prose his most glittering weapons.

Before we look at the Blake essay, we would observe that a criticism of Blake's pictures which is perhaps finer than any in even the essay occurs in the Letters: 'His men and women have ghosts inside them. . . . Their impulses, gestures, relations are not earthly; they are like "the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh."'

'His men and women have ghosts inside them.' If any more perceptive remark has ever been made about this painter, we would that we knew where we might find it. You that have stood and gazed at the unearthly grandeur of Blake's designs, say if this is not what you have felt and failed to express. The similitude of flesh and blood is a ridiculously inadequate veil; awful and distinct behind is the embodied, yet barely embodied, ghost.

Now turn we, as Sir Thomas Malory would say, to the essay itself. And we turn with a great joy, for we are entering a rich country which has not yet been made the

critics' playground. We can breathe the fresh, morning enthusiasm of Smetham with the added zest which the feeling that we are pioneers gives. For enthusiasm it is. How inspiring is it to meet a man who has found something altogether worthy of praise and knows how to praise it! Smetham is not ashamed of his enthusiasm. The flower-speeches of Perdita, the closing chorus of Comus, the description of the Isle of Goats in the Ninth Odyssey, the lyrics of Blake—these things deserve praise. And when we have ransacked our vocabulary for superlatives, we must come forward with a confession of poverty, and apologize for rewarding transcendent merit with so poor a coin. Let us see what Smetham has to say of Blake's lyrics :—

'There is so much pleasure in copying out some of these fragments, that we are tempted to linger a little longer over them. The silver Shakespearian song of "Take, oh take those lips away!" has always sounded like a honey-laden breeze of Hymettus. There is the same nameless spell in these words of Blake rolled sweetly on each other, as the rose-leaves curl towards the heart of the rose. . . . Thus we are led on by their alluring sweetness as we are led from bush to bush by the piping of a bird of unusual note and brilliant plume.'

'Butchers,' says Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake*, 'count by bulk, knights by courage.' Similarly, genius can stamp its quality on a phrase only. A five-word comment on a couplet of Blake, quoted by Mr. W. M. Rossetti, haunted us for years before we knew Smetham was its author. As we turn over the pages of this wonderful essay, we want to quote everything. Smetham has been caught by the grandeur of his subject, and writes as Blake painted. As we read, we are increasingly gripped by Rossetti's conviction that Blake and Smetham were spiritually and intellectually almost fraternally akin. Smetham knows Blake as well as Mr. Swinburne does; nay, better, for

Smetham was an artist, and an artist, moreover—we have Rossetti's word for it—who 'partook greatly of Blake's immediate spirit,' and 'shared in a remarkable manner Blake's mental beauties and his formative shortcomings, and possessed, besides, an individual invention which often claimed equality with the great exceptional master himself.' He forgets nothing, ignores nothing. There is nothing of Mr. Swinburne's torrential rapidity here, but the lava-stream of his enthusiasm moves with a steady, glowing breadth. With what a compelling seriousness, when introducing us to Blake's illustrations of Job, does he remind us of the fact which above all others is most impressively relevant to their sublimity!

'Before being permitted to handle its solemn pages, every spectator ought to be forewarned and instructed that these designs are the latest products of a hand growing stiff with age and verging on immortality. . . . Every line of these plates was cut directly by the patient, wrinkled hand.'

There is a full recognition of Blake's faults and shortcomings, as man and artist; but these are touched with a kindly reverence, and not dwelt upon. Here is the summary of Blake's moods: 'Now he is a Titan hurling rocks at the gods, now a chubby boy toddling to the infant-school and singing his pretty echoing song.' Observe the noble felicity of another passage: 'As soon might we charge the west wind or the rising harvest moon or the grey-plumed nightingale with affectation as affix the stigma upon this simple, wondering child-man, who wanders in russet by "the shores of old renown," or walks "with death and morning on the silver horns" in careless and familiar converse with the angel of the heights.'

English literature possesses very few passages of prose, of equal length with Smetham's description of Blake's illustrations of Job, which are marked by an equal exaltation of style. Where everything is so great, quotation is

an impertinence. But we must cull, almost at random, a sentence or two: 'The Ancient of Days (who is to be read by the instructed eye in His cramped grandeur rather as an unlettered *symbol* of Divinity than as a representation of Him).' 'The darkening page seems to crackle with sulphurous and sudden flame. . . . The rampant, rejoicing demon dances on the cornices and flaps his dragon-wings in glee; while, in the margin, strange glints of issuing claws and eating fires crawl upward.' 'The sea blackens and the mighty rims of the setting sun seem to depart in protest.' 'Sketchings that seem to represent the very roots of creation, while its boiling energies appear to overflow above.'

We are certain that language could not convey the unearthliness of these designs with a greater approach to adequacy. Nor is Smetham one jot behind in his interpretations of the designs for Blair's Grave and the Canterbury Pilgrimage.

We feel that we have failed to convey the power and beauty of this essay; we can only hope that we may send our readers to the essay itself, which, to quote Rossetti on Smetham's pictures, 'as other exclusive things have come to be, will some day be known in a wide circle.' There is very little work of the Victorian period in whose quality of permanence we have equal confidence. This is not the freshness of enthusiasm; it is a growing conviction, and is already old.

The Alexander Smith essay demands a word of notice. It is a wise, kindly, and just tribute to a man whose literary reputation had suffered wrong. Alexander Smith had plenty of genius, and wrote at least one lyric of length which will prove immortal; from it come three familiar quotations. He was worthy of Smetham's essay, which is a tribute from one man to another. The real life of Smith, as of Smetham, was built 'far above the marshy lands of professional success.' Smetham's tribute to him is no whit inferior to the other essays; it is marked by the same essential

manliness and moral nobility. The remarks on Carlyle are superb, but we will quote from the essay only one brief passage, though that is the one which we should quote if we were compelled to quote one passage only as typical from all Smetham's work. Observe how it gains its effectiveness by the simple accumulation of simple images in simple words, like the touches of a brush. We make no further comment.

'The subject is old, yet we are never satiated; the red-leaf fall of the coming winter will be as pathetic as ever; the first snow-flake as full of wonder; its winds as grand; its nights as sublime with stars. And in hundreds of years to come, the prose-poets will be touching off the features of future winters as felicitously, the winds howling as wildly, the streams sealed into a dumbness as deep as now.'

There is an autumnal sadness about Smetham's tribute to this 'calm and courageous poet and essayist.' He seems to have had an instinctive suspicion that in studying Smith he was studying something uncommonly like the lines of his own life. It is a fascinating and sympathetic essay. Writer and subject have long since met in Elysium and clasped hands, with lips that were silent, but eyes that were eloquent in their interchange of understanding and brotherly thankfulness.

The paper on Gerhard Dow is brief; unlike the others it was not published in the *London Quarterly*, but in the *Art Journal*. Here again Smetham is considering a life such as he loved to contemplate, a life drawn apart from the paths of noisy service and given up to consistent development of its genius. It is quietly beautiful, written with a subtle perception and humour. There are no passages where the style becomes concentrated and compelling in its loveliness, but Smetham's genius is pervading, and, like the sunlight, strikes everywhere.

The omitted essay, 'Modern Sacred Art in England,' which his editor locates in the *London Quarterly Review*

for 1861 instead of 1862, and styles 'Religious Art in England,' is a wonderfully fine and convincing plea for the marriage of all that is worthy in religion and art. Its style stamps it as unmistakably Smetham's. Its opening, especially, excites in us an almost religious awe, so grave, reverential, and masterly it is.

And here, in what must be almost our last word, we would lay stress on what is the chief characteristic of Smetham's style, its *adequacy*. The strain, the hectic flush, the uncouth striving after effect, are absent. But those who know the English muse, 'a mild, dear daughter of the land,' are *satisfied*. This was his invocation of her—

Come like an English matron, pure and bright,
Or like an English maiden, frank and fair;
Come with the honeysuckle breath of eve;
Come with the simple wild-rose flush of morn.

In those lines one of our greatest prose-writers has laid before us his simple preferences. The secret of his straightforward, nervous, and sensitively beautiful work lay in a nature that was untouched by any insincerity. His spirit was always open to God's sunlight and sweet air. The foundations upon which his life was built went deep; and in the inward pieties his heart was guarded and austere.

E. J. THOMPSON.

A CHAPTER OF CORNISH RELIGIOUS HISTORY

CORNWALL has always been religious. In few lands can there be found such a number of sacred circles and other relics of the heathen religions that preceded Christianity which was being preached here before Gregory had sent Augustine to the shore of England. Self-willed, too, the Cornish have ever been. Augustine might urge them to adopt the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure, yet when Ealdhelm, afterwards bishop of Sherborne, was here (circ. 682) he found them still keeping Easter at their own time. Ealdhelm thought this was a danger to their souls—but the Cornish held out on the point even after the Welsh church had yielded, about A.D. 755. We feel less anxious on this petty question than did Ealdhelm, but can join him in regretting the bigotry that prevented the Cornish from praying in the same church or eating at the same table as a Saxon. All through the Middle Ages we trace the same spirit. In the tenth century Pope Formosus complains of the disobedience of the Cornish, and even as late as the Reformation we find them opposed to the change. This self-will seems to have had its basis in a genuine and praiseworthy dislike of being forced in any particular direction by a superior human power. So far as we can judge from the records left to us—and the late Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph has made many of them accessible¹—there has always been a fair share of healthy religious thought in the West. Until the Reformation religious life largely centred round the great houses, whether monastic, collegiate, or otherwise. There were monastic houses at St. Germans, Bodmin,

¹ Will any one be found to continue his invaluable Episcopal Registers of Exeter? They are models of compression, full of learning and altogether scholarly.

Launceston, St. Michael's Mount, Tywardreth, Minster, Scilly and elsewhere—hospitals at St. Leonard's and Sithney, and collegiate churches at Crantoc, Penryn, Endellion, Perran, Buryan and elsewhere. Apparently there was no nunnery in Cornwall until modern times. Perhaps as good an idea of Cornish religious history can be obtained by following that of one of the collegiate churches as in any other way, and we select that of St. Buryan. These colleges were churches inferior to cathedrals, but were capitular and served by men living more or less in common, but, unlike monks, still living in and being of the world. Like most human institutions they largely survived their usefulness, and the accumulated wealth of such religious establishments as the monasteries and colleges, and the extent to which the parochial revenues were diverted for their use, became undoubtedly a serious mischief. But that they did much good work in their time cannot be doubted.

As we find it to-day the church of St. Buryan is mostly of the fifteenth century, an age when there seems to have been much life in Cornwall, almost every church either dating from that time or having been then restored. But part of the north wall of the chancel is of the twelfth century, and the foundations of the tower are probably of the same date or earlier. There is a beautiful thirteenth-century tomb having a floriated cross on the upper surface, and around the margin the Norman-French legend 'CLARICE LA FEMME CHEFFREI DE BOLLEIT LIT ICI DEV DE LALME EIT MERCE KE PVR LEALME PRIVNT DI IOR DE PARDVN AVERVND.'

The bowl of the font is of fourteenth-century work. There are traces, too, of the worshippers of every century since, so that, as one stands within, the mind is carried back over the ages to the far-off times when in the sixth century Bruinsech the Slender, friend of St. Piran, had here her oratory. The stones of the church preach the great lesson

of continuity by evolution. It is a building still of great beauty, though in 1814 a former rector destroyed the early sixteenth-century screen because it interfered with his voice, and Mr. Butterfield, the restoring architect, did much to vulgarize the edifice. What is left of the screen shows it to have been one of the best in Cornwall.

But it is not with the edifice that we are to deal. Of the life of Bruinsech, the eponymous saint, we need not speak. Like those of many another early saint it is largely folk-lore taken over from the heathen and adapted, and in Cornwall our saints had their legends perverted by another means. In 1330 Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, wrote to the archdeacon of Cornwall pointing out how many holy men, and accepted of God, had by their virtues and miracles added to the lustre of their mother, the church, but being of purely local fame were unknown elsewhere—yet the clergy had carelessly lost their ‘lives,’ and in some cases, through there having been only one copy, these could not be replaced. So he orders careful search, and duplicate and even triplicate copies to be made within a year, at the end of which time the archdeacon was to ascertain what had been done, and defaulters were to be fined. We can easily conjecture what happened when an ignorant cleric, perhaps an entire stranger to the county, sat down to write a biography without knowing any facts.

There is probably some foundation for the legend that Athelstan in A.D. 939 vowed that if successful in his contemplated conquest of the Scilly Isles, he would, on his return, found here a college of priests as an act of gratitude to God, and that, being successful, he founded the promised college accordingly. This college is referred to in Domesday thus, ‘The Canons of St. Buryan hold Eglosberrie (i. e. the church or parish of Buryan) which was free in the time of King Edward.’ The original dedication by Athelstan is not now in existence, but a ‘vidimus’ of it has been preserved. The earliest act of consecration still preserved is of one by the

bishop of Exeter on the 26th of August, 1238. The clergy of St. Buryan were secular canons of the order of St. Augustine, bound to daily prayer for their founder. The chief feature of interest in the foundation was that it was a *royal peculiar*, that is, the king could appoint whom he would as dean, without any interference on the part of the bishop; and the dean, when appointed, had absolute ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the parish of St. Buryan with its dependent parochial chapelries of St. Sennen and St. Levan, which were served by clergymen from the college. An appeal from the dean was direct to the crown (or duchy) and not, as in the case of ordinary peculiars, to the archbishop. We shall see directly that the crown and duchy quarrelled over their rights, and that Bishop Grandisson shore the deanery of many of its privileges.

The first incumbent of whom we have record is Walter de Gray, in 1213, who afterwards became bishop of Winchester. In 1220 William St. Aubyn was instituted on the collation of the legate, Pandulph, in the name of the king. In 1301 Edward I granted the 'deanery of our free chapel of St Buryan' to Ralph de Mantone, and commanded the chapter to induct him into corporal possession, and to render him due obedience.

Very early we find the church disputing the right of the crown. Indeed, to a strong bishop, such a peculiar as Buryan must have been a continual sore. On the 6th of July, 1310, the king sealed his writ calling on Roger Gruglan, Roger the apparitor of Kerrier, and the vicars of St. Erth and Gwinear, with a large number of other clergymen and laymen, to appear at Westminster and show cause why they—knowing Buryan to be a royal free chapel exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary—had yet *vi et armis* broken into that chapel, and there exercised such jurisdiction. This was bad enough; but the writ proceeds to draw a graphic picture of those rough-and-ready times by summoning these servants of the church for that they had

insulted the dean, his men and servants, whom they found there, and had, moreover, beaten them so badly that the lives of some of them were despaired of—and, adding insult to injury, had pronounced them excommunicate for their opposition, and had been guilty of other enormities to the prejudice of the king and of the royal dignity and in manifest derogation of the liberty of the said chapel. This writ was addressed to the bishop, who was then at his palace at Paignton. The return he made is instructive. Where he could find no excuse the bishop fined the offenders, and amongst others the goods of Ralph of St. Gwinear were sequestrated to the value of 20*s*. Where the temporal possessions of an offender were to be levied it was for the sheriff, not the bishop, to enforce the law. Roger Gruglan held no benefice in the diocese, and so the bishop did nothing in his case. As to *Nicholas*, rector of St. Constantine, the bishop simply says that he cannot find any such man in the diocese. A reference to the Institution book shows that the Christian name of this parson was *Henry*! Bishop Grandisson revelled in objections of this kind. What is usually objected to as quibbling is nothing but exactitude in small things.

The documents that remain to us are by no means sufficient to enable us to decide either as to the relative rights of bishop and king in the matter of governing this deanery, or as to their rights of patronage. Shortly after the Conquest, the prior and convent of Rochester somehow obtained the patronage; but it was too far off, and in the reign of Henry III they, with the consent of Bishop Walter de Merton, exchanged it with Richard, the king's brother, for some churches nearer home. From Richard the patronage passed to his son, Edmund, earl of Cornwall. Yet we find the bishops of Exeter exercising rights of patronage whenever they got the chance. While the bishops were exercising the right of patronage, the crown—which always had the power to seize on alien monasteries and

colleges in time of war—found a means of interfering. Kings who were not very conscientious considered the fact of the prior or dean being alien, sufficient to justify seizure, and sometimes forgot that the law required restoration at the return of peace. Accordingly, we find Henry VI seizing it and handing it over to King's College, Cambridge, which he had founded in 1443, and, a few years afterwards, Edward IV did the same in favour of the dean and chapter of Windsor, though neither of these bodies long held it. The more modern history of the patronage is quite as confusing. Seth Ward, who was dean of Buryan until he succeeded to the see of Exeter in 1662, is said to have procured letters patent settling it for ever on that see; and on the translation of a later dean, the more celebrated Dr. Sir Jonathan Trelawny, to the bishopric of Winchester, in 1707, the deanery became finally separated from the see. Trelawny was, as every one knows, one of the seven bishops who gave James II such an uncomfortable experience. With the wearisome litigation between crown and duchy we need not concern ourselves. The patronage of the benefice, now a rectory, and shorn of its dependent chapelries, is to-day in the duchy of Cornwall.

To return to the dispute between crown and bishop. Prior to the interesting stir in which the dean and his servants got so roughly handled, the dispute was in full swing. The earldom of Cornwall having escheated to Edward I, he conferred the deanery of Buryan on Sir William de Hameltone, his chancellor. In the Middle Ages, cases were constantly occurring of kings paying their servants by giving them benefices without their being expected to discharge any of the duties—and, to their honour be it noted, there were very few bishops who did not boldly fight against the abuse. In this case Bishop Thomas de Bytton was probably glad also of any excuse to dispute the royal rights over Buryan; so in 1292 he objected that the dean was not in residence. The king issued a writ to

enforce his rights. Bytton's Register is unfortunately lost, and we know little of the details of the litigation, but law apparently moved as slowly then as now, for the cause was still pending when the bishop died in 1307.

In 1325 we find a foreigner, one John de Mante, holding the deanery, and a dispute in progress between Bishop Stapeldon and Queen Isabella on the subject, the latter having the idea strongly developed that the dean's duty was to run errands for her on the Continent. In 1327 Bishop Stapeldon died, and at the end of the year a successor came to the see who soon proved that he was a man of action and of strong words too. If any one wants a specimen of scolding of real vitriolic intensity, he should study a letter that Bishop Grandisson of Exeter wrote to his archbishop, when that dignitary took liberties with him. But he was not a man of hasty action. He knew where he was going before he started running, but, when he *had* started, he went straight on. In the registers of his predecessors we find little notes in Grandisson's handwriting, such as 'Nota Beriane' in the margin opposite references to this deanery. As soon as he was settled in the see he called on Mante to attend to the duties of his office; and, on his neglect to do so, promptly excommunicated him for disregard of the episcopal monitions. Many of the parishioners of St. Buryan took the dean's part, and expressed themselves in his favour. Promptly our energetic bishop issued his mandate for the citation of Vivian de Penros and others, including a lady, Margaret de Desdenewel, to appear before him and explain their conduct. But whistling for your dog does not always bring him—the parishioners did *not* appear; and on the 17th of August, 1328, they were suspended, forbidden to enter the church at all, and excommunicated—the excommunication of some being by mere publication in churches and other public places; while the sentence on the ringleaders was that they be declared 'excommunicate, with tolling of bells of churches and

chapels, with candles lighted and extinguished in public, and with all due solemnity.' ¹ But even yet the good folk of St. Buryan were untamed; and on the 3rd of September, 1828, several of them were inhibited from communicating—a serious punishment to those who believed that to die 'unhouseled' was to lose salvation. Whereupon they turned to one John Kaer, 'declaring himself to be the parish priest of St. Buryan.' ² But if the people were fertile in expedients, the bishop was firm of purpose; and on the 4th of November we find him in the chapel of the beautiful monastery of St. Michael's Mount taking part in one of those ceremonies which even in this distant and inartistic age impress us with awe and admiration. Clad in his robes and surrounded by his chaplains, with the neighbouring clergy who had been summoned to attend vested in stoles and each holding a lighted candle, the bishop fulminated sentence of excommunication against the rebellious people of St. Buryan, and against John Kaer for that he did 'celebrate the divine service, nay rather, profane it, in the presence of certain excommunicate and schismatical parishioners in a place now accounted profane and under an interdict, both the church and the church yard having been polluted by bloodshed.'

Especially severe was his right reverence against Richard Vyvyan, 'the author, promoter, and inciter of the many wicked and evil deeds perpetrated in the parish'—but all who anywise held communion with the offenders were included in the curse, which sounds cruel even in English, but in the more dignified Latin is terribly impressive: 'As

¹ The last known Cornish instance was in 1782 at Gwennap, when one Sampson was excommunicated for nonpayment of a fine for brawling. The ceremony (fully described in the 'Canterbury Book') must have been very impressive.

² The dean appears to have appealed to Canterbury, but with what result we have not traced. We only know of the appeal from the private letters sent by the bishop to his agents, directing them as to the course to be pursued.

these lights are extinguished before our bodily eyes, so in the presence of God and of Blessed Mary, the Blessed angels and all Saints, may their souls be extinguished and delivered to the devil and his angels for endless punishment in the flame that dieth not, unless they repent and come to a better mind. Fiat! Fiat!' However, forgiveness could be obtained by acknowledging the bishop as their spiritual father and taking the oath of submission to the church, but it was some time before the people did this. In 1333 the disobedient dean—(or as the bishop calls him 'De Mante who pretends that he is dean')—was denounced again as excommunicate for refusing to pay his 'tenths' to the Pope, the ceremony being with the full accompaniment of bell-ringing and candle extinguishing. In 1336, eight years after their first offence, the parishioners of St. Buryan were in a happier frame of mind. In this year the bishop visited St. Buryan again. He was now diocesan, and the good folk, including John Kaer, the offending priest, attended before him, acknowledged their error and were received again into the bosom of the church. An interesting feature of the ceremony was that some of the penitents did not know any language but Cornish, and Henry Marseley, the rector of St. Just, had to act as interpreter. The meeting closed with the singing of *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, and a sermon from the bishop on the text 'For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the shepherd and bishop of your souls.' The interpreter repeated the sermon in Cornish, and then followed a great many confirmations, and many natives of St. Buryan had the first tonsure, on admission to the lower orders of the clergy.¹

¹ In 1329 Grandisson wrote to his friend Pope John XXII and told him that in Cornwall the people talked the language of the Bretons. In 1355 Roger Tyrel, of the Preaching Friars of Truro, was appointed to preach to the mere Cornish who knew no English. The English language was only beginning to replace Cornish in the church services at the end of the sixteenth century, but by the end of the next century it was difficult to find any who knew the Cornish tongue.

But whether the people of his parish were excommunicate, or whether they were reconciled to the church, made no difference to the dean. In the words of the bishop, the dean did not even blush, and was not afraid to withdraw himself, in his disobedience, from the unity of the church. As long as he had the royal protection, and could receive the profits of his benefice he was happy. Encouraged by his victory over the parishioners, Bishop Grandisson now played his last card against the dean; and on the 14th of July, 1336, appointed the rector of St. Just as receiver of the emoluments of St. Buryan. This brought de Mante to reason; and in the following month we find him at Clyst taking a solemn oath of submission before the bishop and promising amendment for the future.

So the quarrel ended. The repentant John de Mante got plenary absolution, and (what he valued far more) recovered the profits of his benefice.

In insisting on his right of visitation Bishop Grandisson was guided by precedent. On the 18th of February, 1314, his predecessor Stapeldon had made a personal visitation of Buryan, and a marginal note of Grandisson's on the register shows that that careful prelate had studied the entry.

One function at a visitation would be hailed with delight by that interesting person 'the aggrieved parishioner,' to whom parson-baiting is a perennial joy. The bishop invited any parishioner present to describe in detail the incumbent's conduct in his office, and to state whether they had any complaints to make. Although it was the practice to solemnly warn them against the grave sin of false accusation, yet, when asked, for example, whether the parson was in the habit of exacting more than his due, it must have been a sore temptation to the poor harassed tithe-payer slightly to distort the true state of affairs. For instance, when in 1301, the parishioners of St. Marychurch, Devon, complain that the vicar 'causes his malt to be prepared in the church,

and stores up his wheat and other things there; and hence his labourers, coming in and going out, open the door, and the wind, in stormy times, gets into the church, and often blows off portions of the roof,' one cannot help suspecting a little exaggeration. We may not stay to describe the bishop's formal entry into the parish, how he was met by the clergy and leading inhabitants and escorted under a canopy to the porch of the church, where he was presented with the holy-water brush,¹ with which he proceeded to sprinkle himself and all around him. The impressive service in the church was followed by the recitation in the yard of the 180th psalm and some prayers for the faithful departed. Perhaps the most gratifying part of the service was the grant by the bishop to the parishioners of forty days' indulgence.

The Synod of Exeter in 1287 had laid down what vestments, books, and ornaments were to be in every church. The list would take too long to set out here. Bishop Stapeldon found things very short of what they ought to be. For instance, three full sets of vestments for four canons and their vicars, to say nothing of the parochial priests and clerks of inferior order, seem hardly sufficient, and the deficiency can only be explained by believing Leland, who tells us, 'There longeth to St. Buryans a deane and a few prebendarys that almost be nether ther.'

One of the chaplains had been guilty of immorality. The question was whether he had repeated the offence; and he was allowed to clear himself by swearing to his own innocence, and having his oath supported by those of three other persons—the number of co-jurants in such cases being regulated according to the gravity of the charge. Having thus cleared himself, the offending chaplain was admitted to a higher order in the church.

From the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII, we learn that at that date the deanery of Buryan was worth £58 8s.

¹ The stoup for the holy water remains in position in the porch.

2½*d.* yearly; the rectory £4 17*s.* 2½*d.*; the prebend of Trethyne £7; the prebend of Respernall £7 6*s.* 8*d.*; the small prebend £2, and the chantry £5. Allowing for the change in the value of money, these are large sums.

From a survey made in the second year of Edward VI (1548) we extract the following: 'Seynt Beryan, Memorandum, that there ys within the saide parishe church of howselinge people [i. e. communicants] 1500 This parish church of Beryan standith at the very Land's End, and the other two churches [i. e. St. Sennen and St. Levan] which be appendente to the same, stand and be distant from the said parish church of Beryan each of them 2 miles and more. The dean findeth 4 priests within the said 3 cures and is charged with them at the least yearly 15 marks (£10), and the said prebendaries are every of them charged with a clerk to serve in the said parish church of Beryan, and to aid the quire there. Every of the said prebendaries distribute yearly to every of the said clerks 40*s.*'

The College shared in the general suppression of the Reformation, and its officers were pensioned off. The rector of the parish continued, however, to be a dean and to retain his position as a 'peculiar' until 1850, when Parliament divided the deanery into the three rectories of St. Buryan, St. Levan, and St. Sennen; abolished the deanery as from the death of the then dean, Stanhope, who died in 1864; took away all peculiar and exempt jurisdiction, and ordered all wills, seals, and so on, to be removed to the registry of the archdeaconry of Bodmin.

We have aimed only at giving some of the recorded incidents in the history of a Cornish parish, and would remind our readers that in this case, as in so many others, the bad and the ludicrous are apt to be recorded, whereas the hard work of the minister, and the many acts of charity and faithful service are unrecorded and forgotten.

THURSTAN PETER.

LUTHER AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

THERE are two facts to be borne in mind in regard to Luther's attitude to social and economic questions. The first is that ordinarily this was a territory to be confined to experts, in which ministers should not meddle. He believed that a special knowledge was necessary to deal with some of these matters, and that they had better be left to those to whom Providence had assigned them, whether the jurists, those clever in worldly knowledge, or the authorities. The other fact is that the Church, after all, has social duties, and that Church and clergy must fight flagrant abuses and try to bring in the kingdom of God on earth. The Church must use the Word of God against sin and sinners, and so by spiritual ministries help the needs of the time. The authorities on their part shall proceed by strict justice against evil-doers. But there is another fact here which it is necessary to mention to get Luther's whole attitude, viz. that the State's function is not simply to administer justice but to secure the general weal. 'They shall do the very best they can for their subjects,' says Luther.¹ The authorities shall serve their subjects and use their office not petulantly (*nicht zu Mutwillen*), but for the advancement of the common good, and especially for the poor.'² The princes should give laws which limit as far as possible social misery and national dangers. They should listen to the proposals of the Church to this end, and on the ground of wise counsels of Christian men, do away with old laws and make new ones. The Church does not have to make these laws or reform the secular life; that can only be done by the State. But the Church un-

¹ Erl. Ausg. of Luther's *Werke* (1st edition) 23 : 296; 24 : 264.

² 38 : 324.

covers social conditions, she shows dangers, she places aims before the State, she punishes and prays, and thus works upon the State. The latter takes up the matter, and by conscientious and strict use of her powers brings in a better order.¹ According to Luther the 'Church has the holy task,' says Seeberg, 'to fight against immorality, against poverty and misery. She does that inasmuch as she invokes every Christian, inasmuch as she forms organizations for the care of the suffering, and calls upon the State for effective interference. The work of the Inner Mission as well as the social work of the Church are inseparable from her nature, for she is entrusted with the task of preaching the gospel.'²

Though Luther felt a certain reserve and urged on all preachers the same reserve in treating questions which might be left to legal and other authorities, he at the same time did not hesitate to declare himself on various matters in the economic, social, or political field. Let us take some of these economic questions.

Luther had a hearty appreciation of work, and broke completely with the mediaeval glorification of mendicancy. That was one of his chief services to mankind. 'God has no use for the lazy unfaithful idler, who does not do what he is commanded, but lets his hands and feet go.' 'House-servant and housemaid should have joy in their hearts that they serve, as Christ Himself calls them. For priests, monks, and nuns might rejoice if they were in the same state. If you ask a housemaid why she washes the platter or milks the cows, she can say: I know that what I do pleases God, since I follow God's command. That is a high, good, and a noble treasure, of which no one is worthy.'³ The work of hand-labourers is 'pleasing and lovely; they live without care and without special encumbrance. For work strengthens the body and preserves health.' The Catholic

¹ Seeberg, *Luther's Stellung zu den sittl. u. sozialen Nöten s. Zeit*, in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* XII (1901), 851.

² *Ibid.* 852.

³ 51:422.

dictum was : ' Business which denies leisure is bad ; only seek the true rest, which is God.' Idleness may be better for the salvation of the soul than work, which is only valuable as a concession to the needs of life, while to remain poor is a divine call as well as to work. Begging and idleness were therefore two of the curses of mediaeval life, as they are to-day in Catholic lands. Eberlin of Gunzberg once answered the question why there was no money in the country by saying that only one in fifteen worked, the rest were idle. Luther had to complain over this Catholic inheritance, the natural results of this premium on idleness. ' No one wants to work,' he says, ' therefore the handworkers must let their slaves (or servants, Knechte) have plenty of holidays ; then they are free and no one can control them. There is the greatest complaint over domestics and workmen, how disobedient, untrue, undisciplined, selfish they are ; that is a plague from God.' ¹ On the other hand Luther said : ' Work is divine ; it is God's command ; we cannot be too diligent ; work belongs to human nature ; as a bird to fly so is a man born to work—there he finds his divine destination.' ² The body is made to work, which keeps it healthy. ³ But chiefly that we may serve our neighbour, and be useful in our day : the householder to his family, the slave to his lord, the prince in the fulfilment of his duties. Christ shall not ask whether you are a man or woman, emperor or stableman, mayor or constable—simply be obedient to God where you are and do not renounce your calling.' ⁴ If you do not work so that you may support yourself and have to give to the needy, you are no Christian, but a thief and a robber. ⁵ With these words Luther broke the spell of the mediaeval beggar saint. ' Useless people who serve neither to protect nor to nourish, but only consume, lounge around, or tramp,

¹ 20:272 f.

² 5:93; 20:284; 4:330; 13:95, &c.

³ 4:380, &c.

⁴ 1:250; 52:112. See further in Ward, *Darstellung und Würdigung der Ansichten Luthers vom Staat u. seinen Wirthschaftlichen Aufgaben*, Jena, 1898, 47 ff.

⁵ 9:319.

should not be suffered, but be driven out of the land or made to work.'¹ Rocher well says that in the matter of begging Luther is a significant turning-point to a higher social economy.² His work here had the significance of a revolution. Of different kinds of work Luther esteemed agriculture best, healthier, more religious, nearer to nature, nearer to God. He says that it is not money and goods which nourish men but God alone, so that man's good does not stand in human wit, but in God's blessing.³ 'Agriculture is a divine means of subsistence—it comes straight down from heaven.'⁴ 'To cultivate the earth is a divine work, which God has commanded, according to Gen. i.'⁵ Therefore the peasants' work is the happiest and 'full of hope, for to sow, to plough, to plant, to graft, to mow, to cut, to thrash—all that has great hope.'⁶ Therefore he thinks it would be better if there were fewer merchants and tradesmen and more farmers.⁷

But all other kinds of work have their place. The people form one body, and an overseer may be more useful than a hand-labourer. Then where would princes and nobles be if there were no ministers, teachers, farmers, artisans, &c. ? Division of labour is necessary. I have cloth, but I could not make hose. 'Therefore it is well ordered in the Latin lands that the tailors have a special guild which make hose and nothing else; here they make hose, doublet (jacket) and coat all in one form and in one feat.'⁸ The higher forms of labour are much esteemed by Luther. 'Next the preaching office I know that the work of the teacher

¹ 22 : 281 ; 57 : 858 ; 20 : 286. See also Erhardt's putting of this side of Luther in his article on the economic views of the Reformers in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1880, H. 4, 677ff.

² *Gesch. der Nationalökonomik in Deutschland*, München, 1874, 68.

³ 57 : 187. See Schmoller, *Zur Geschichte der nat. ökonom. Ansichten in Deutschland während der Reformationsperiod*, in der *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1860, 474.

⁴ 57 : 342.

⁵ 57 : 248.

⁶ 61 : 852-8.

⁷ 21 : 357.

⁸ See Schmoller, 484 ff.

is the most useful, the greatest and the best.'¹ Physicians are also useful, and the lawyers are specially valuable in the protecting of life, property, virtue. For the same reason the worldly authorities are to be prized. This will explain also Luther's appreciation of the soldier. 'Ah, war is like a golden hook, with which if a man fishes he does not get very much.'² He frankly confesses that war is a great plague, but he adds, 'we have also to see how much greater the plague from which war saves us.'³ For this reason war is just as necessary in its place as eating or drinking. So far as war is a war of necessity one can fight, even as a mercenary soldier. A warrior must have a good conscience, and must be sure he is serving God. The calling of a soldier in itself is just as honourable as any.⁴ The business of a jailer and executioner are also necessary.⁵ It was Luther's glory to make divine the calling of the common man—that the smith at his forge is as truly the servant of God and co-worker with him as the monk at his prayers.

There were some businesses, however, which Luther did not like. One of these was the usurer's or interest taker's. I cannot go into the history of interest in the Christian Church. Suffice it to say that following the unanimous opinion of the Fathers, the mediaeval Church condemned all taking of interest, though she did not at all succeed in breaking up the practice even among her own members. In this matter Luther stood squarely with her, though Calvin did not. In the Middle Ages there was but little opportunity to lay out money productively, as there came to be with the new discoveries at the dawn of the modern era and the great trade routes east and west. Before Luther's time the chief borrowers were the poor, and they borrowed not to start some money-making scheme but to live, to tide them over hard places. As long as husbandry was the chief business, and payments were made in kind, the taking of interest was

¹ 20 : 40.² 62 : 173.³ 22 : 249.⁴ 22 : 273, 279, 282, 284.⁵ 22 : 73.

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really usury and exploitation of the poor. With the expansion of trade and the building up of great industries, a process which was going on rapidly in the sixteenth century, the situation changed; large moneys were needed, and interest was charged as a matter of course. Luther inherited the old conception, and it is to the credit of his sense of justice and of mercy that he came out strongly against the practice. In three or four writings, he struck it hard blows, in his long and in his short sermon on usury (or interest) in 1519,¹ in his book, *Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher*,² 1524, and in his appeal to the clergy, *An die Pfarrherrn, wider den Wucher zu predigen*,³ 1540.

In the first book (1519) he says that the spirit of 'avarice and interest (or usury, *Wucher*) has not only mightily increased, but has understood how to seek a covering-board under which with the reputation of fairness it can carry on its evil. And so it has almost come about that we no longer regard the holy gospel. Therefore it is necessary in these dangerous times to show to every man how he can carry on business in temporal goods making the right distinction, and carefully observing the holy Gospel of Christ our Lord.' Notice the religious standpoint. He refers to Luke vi. 30 ff as the great charter of non-interest loaning. A poor man has to borrow. 'You should loan and expect nothing from it. It is usury all the same when you loan wine, corn (*Korn*, wheat and other grains), money or what not to your neighbours for a year or a certain length of time, obligating or loading them with interest, that they must give back more or other than they have borrowed.'⁴ Such a proceeding is against love of the neighbour and against the natural law which Christ shows us in Luke vii. 31 and Matt. vi. 12. Against the objection that in non-interest loans a man loses the use

¹ 20 : 89-122.

² 22 : 199-226.

³ 23 : 282-388. The second book (1524) has been translated by Professor Carruth of the University of Kansas in *The Open Court* (Chicago), Jan. 1897, 16-34 (vol. xi).

⁴ 20 : 105.

of what he has loaned, he simply answers, 'He who considers giving or loaning, must also have previously considered the interest, or he would neither give nor loan.' Then, when it is said that it is a custom for scholars, priests, Churches to loan for gain, Luther replies: 'Well, it is neither Christian, nor godly, nor natural, and against this no example can help.'¹

In the second part of the sermon he considers *Zinskauf* or *Rentenkauf*, or the letting out of capital or goods for yearly return, or selling on credit with interest, or as Erhardt explains it²—a laying out of capital for interest upon real property (apparently the same as our mortgage), only with this difference from the present form of such loaning, that the creditor was looked upon as the legal possessor of the property, and had a claim upon a regular income either in kind or in money. This, Luther says, is a pretty way of loading other people without apparent sin, and becoming rich without any cost to oneself. In this case the debtor gives over to the creditor the use of some property, which he can claim again after he has paid what he owes; or it takes the form of a personal interest claim which is liquidated by the activity of the debtor in industry, art, or handwork. Sometimes it is a steady payment of interest in money. The time in which all these forms of *Rentenkauf* may run is sometimes for life or for ever. There was much discussion of the permissibility of these forms of gain in the sixteenth century, and Church ordinances generally held them valid under certain conditions. Luther, however, had no patience with them. He thinks *Rentenkauf* increases only goods, the honour of men, and luxury, and gives occasion to avarice; for the creditor in these transactions 'never or but seldom considers the advantage and help of the buyer, but only his own.' Besides, this kind of selling for revenue is in its effect only usury or interest after all, and it brings all lands, cities, people under burdens, exhausts and destroys them.³ 'Selling on credit has brought the greatest misery to the German

¹ 20 : 107.² Erhardt, 704.³ 20 : 110.

nation. But for this many would have left unbought their silk, velvet, cloth of gold, spices and other pomps. It arose only a little over a hundred years ago, and has already brought all princes, cities, &c., into poverty, distress, and destruction.' ¹ So also going surety is a bad thing, for it has brought many people down. ² The result of this revenue-buying or selling on credit was a kind of mortgage on land under which German agriculture suffered much.

The letting out of money, &c., on interest is also objectionable in Luther's eyes because the gain is on the creditor's side and all the loss on the debtor's. He says the interest payer is subject to God's power, to death, sickness, water, fire, wind, hail, lightning, wolves and bad men; all this danger the money-lord should assume. ³ But Luther did not deny absolutely all profit from interest, though he so protected the debtor that he took away most of the stimulus to the loaner to peel the less fortunate. The creditor cannot demand the principal back at any one time—that must be left to the discretion of the borrower. ⁴ This is on the ground that the former has an equal risk. But at the same time the debtor must do everything possible to live up to his contract, must not deviate from it because he thinks it is unjust, but must be thoroughly obedient to all his duties. The authorities, however, should see to it that all unjust burdens and interest are done away, for it is their duty to punish the wrong and protect the right. ⁵ When one's capital is his only stock-in-trade, as for instance in the case of a widow, then its letting out at interest is justifiable. ⁶ Here the moral dangers to the creditor do not exist, and Luther's sense saw that interest in these cases was an economic necessity.

Besides the usurer's, the importer's trade did not stand high with Luther. This simple peasant's son did not have much use for luxury. He does not like the over-sea trade

¹ 21 : 356.

² 22 : 213.

³ 20 : 115.

⁴ 57 : 360.

⁵ 23 : 27.

⁶ 54 : 277; 55 : 11f.

with India, 'which brings costly silk, gold-work, spices, which are of no use and only serve pomp, and drain the land and people of money.' 'England would have less gold if Germany did not import its cloth. And the King of Portugal would not be so lifted up if we let him keep his spices.' 'These foreign wares are of no use, but they grind us down.'¹ Playing and dancing Luther also wanted to restrain,² as also immoderate eating and drinking, for as a fact, he says, 'other nations, particularly the Latin lands, have a great politeness, and they have a spite against us, whom they call "the full Germans."'³

Connected with this suspicion against luxury and wealth, Luther did not like great business-houses, large importing firms, or concerns which had a monopoly in whole or in part. In 1512 the Reichstag at Cologne declared against these companies as the United States government has against the Standard Oil Company. The diet said that within a few years past great societies of merchants have arisen in the empire which have in their hands alone all kinds of wares, spices, metal, woollens, &c., that they drive trade in them, and according to their own pleasure and for their own advantage determine the price of such goods, and this is against the holy empire, the imperial right, and all honesty—in which words one might almost hear the voice of Roosevelt. Luther agreed heartily with the Reichstag in this deliverance. 'We must put a bridle in the mouth of the Fuggers and companies like them. How is it possible in one man's lifetime to collect together such a heap of wealth, if the thing is done godly and rightly? How can one hundred gulden gain twenty in one year?'⁴ (Similar questions have often been asked since in America.) 'Of the companies I could say much, for all of them are inexcusable, for they act in avarice and injustice, in which nothing of a good conscience is to be found. For they have all wares in their own hands, and make

¹ 22 : 181, 201.

³ 8 : 288f.; cf. 21 : 357; 57 : 360-1.

² 5 : 95; 57 : 359.

⁴ 21 : 357.

what they will, and increase or lessen their stock at pleasure, oppress and destroy the small merchants just as the pike does the small fish. Therefore no one dare ask how with a good conscience he can be in such companies. If these firms remain, right and honour go under; if the latter abide, then the companies must go.'¹ One can readily understand with what burning words Luther would scorate that great American monopoly, whose history has been marked by the most unscrupulous destruction of all competitors in its field that has probably ever been known.²

Luther had no patience with the motto of some modern railroads and other corporations: Charge all that the traffic will bear. He says that the common rule of merchants is: I sell my wares as dear as I can. He replies to that that such a rule 'makes room for avarice and opens the door and window to hell,' though all business is run under it. Merchants should not go beyond the common market price, and should charge 'according to the time and greatness of the work' represented in the article. Better still it would be if the authorities fixed the price by the judgement of experts, in which Luther anticipated the laws of Congress and state legislations concerning railroad charges.³

There was nothing specially new in Luther's views in this branch of economics. It was the teaching of the canonists of the Middle Ages that the worth of a thing is dependent on the value of the stuff used in it and the pains and work that it cost. Competition, as a factor in the fixing of price, and subjective lust of gain, were excluded. Nor should the price be reckoned according to anticipated payment, or payment on credit or contract. The Catholic Church had the right and duty to watch over trade, just as the modern state

¹ 22 : 223-4.

² See among others the great book by the late Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth*, New York, 1894, founded on court records, governmental investigations, official documents, testimonies of eye-witnesses, &c.

³ 22 : 203-4, 206, 215f., 218f.

claims and uses that right for itself. Of course more or less give-and-take, or bargaining, was allowed, and market fluctuations were made use of, but the effort of the Church was to fix prices as objectively as possible.¹ Luther had the same idea. 'How high the price should be in trade or work,' he said, 'thou canst better reckon when thou considerest the time and amount of work, and takest the parable of a common day labourer who works and sees what the day earns. Reckon then how many days the thing costs, and how much work and danger it represents; for the greater the work and longer the time, the greater the reward or price.'² Here Luther takes the day's work of the common man as the foundation for the fixing of prices, in which he anticipated Adam Smith. Luther was the enemy of great fortunes. He says that more than a fair living is not to be looked for by trade or merchandise, and that every preference by which one gets an advantage over another is to be avoided.³

I said a moment ago that Luther thought that the best way to fix prices is the judgement of fair-minded experts, or those that passed for such. This method was frequently in use in the Middle Ages, and was provided for in Calvin's legislation in Geneva.⁴ It appears that it was not practicable in Germany, and therefore Luther thought the next best thing was to go according to the market, or according to the custom of the land.⁵ No one can put up his prices to get advantage of the general need—that is theft and robbery.⁶ Nor can one cause an artificial scarcity for personal profit, such as farmers who waste grain in order to make it dear.⁷ Also those who get one kind of goods in their own hands and then advance the price are transgressors against the public weal and should be punished. These merchants act as though the blessings of God were for them alone. All monopolists

¹ See Ward, 74-5.

² 22 : 206.

³ 22 : 203.

⁴ Elster in Conrad's *Jahrbücher*, 1878, 180.

⁵ 22 : 204.

⁶ 57 : 343.

⁷ 57 : 339.

are not worthy to be called men. They ought to be driven out of the land.¹ Luther lived in a transition time—a time when the simple ways of the fathers were yielding before the commerce of many lands and the increased wealth thus resulting. This disturbed the old economic relations. This disturbance the conservative Luther tried to reduce to a minimum by holding on to the old ideals, by keeping a sharp watch over the great merchants and would-be monopolists, and by a legal limitation of luxury—all of which revealed his sound moral and religious sense and his sympathy with the common man.

The right of private property Luther allowed to the full. That right rested on work, on the precepts of the Scripture, on the duty of providing for one's own and of giving to the needy.² Communism is unnatural and impossible. Men are not all equal, for God has created them different, and this difference or inequality remains.³ Nor is communism inculcated in the Scripture—it was simply voluntary for those disciples who wished it (Acts iv. 32), not for Pilate and Herod and other outsiders, as our foolish peasants storm.⁴ The example in Acts iv. is not binding, though mutual helpfulness is.⁵ Family life excludes communism, says Luther.⁶ However, in case of extreme need, ordinary laws do not hold—reminding one of the mediaeval proverb, In extreme necessity all things are common. Luther says: 'Necessity breaks iron, and can well break a law. What is right in a time of necessity may not be right in ordinary times. Who takes bread from the store without being driven by hunger is a thief, but otherwise he does right, because we are under obligation to give to them. And so with other things. But those who need should seek out princes, ministers, and pious learned people.'⁷ This reminds us of the sensation caused in England a few years ago by the remark of Cardinal Manning that the starving have a natural right to bread, or to put it

¹ 22 : 216, 218.² 31 : 298-9.³ 2 : 83; 50 : 185-6.⁴ Cf. 31 : 299.⁵ 6 : 97.⁶ 6 : 96.⁷ 23 : 307.

in his own words, that 'every man has a right to work or to bread';¹ but people forgot that in saying that he was only repeating the axiom of the common law of his own Church, or the foundation principle on which society rests. At any rate, Luther said as much. But in regard to communism Luther worked as a thoroughly conservative force.

But this did not mean that Luther was averse to municipal experiments for the common good. For as to the care of the poor, Luther placed it on the community. 'Every city and borough,' he says, 'must build its own churches, towers, and bells, and care for its own poor': not the church society as such, but the whole place as a civic entity. This latter, however, must be guided by Christian spirit. Some competent man must be set over this work who shall make personal investigation of needs. This man may well be a church officer. Such a social deacon Luther esteemed highly. He says: 'After the preaching office, there is no higher office in the Church than this poor-administration, so that Church goods are rightly and honestly looked after, to the end that poor Christians who cannot make their own living may be helped, so as not to suffer need.' Whence shall these resources come? From foundations and legacies, which should be turned from the churches and monasteries to the poor, from voluntary contributions and assessments laid as a matter of duty on the citizens, from a union of neighbouring communities to look after this matter by a poor-tax, and from private benevolences. In this Luther laid the foundation for a new method with the poor, which lifted the latter from the chances of wayside charity and made their support a matter of right.²

Speaking of Luther not being averse to civic action for the common good reminds us that the semi-socialistic provision at Leisnig met his warm approval. With the empty-

¹ Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, London, 1896, ii. 656.

² See Paret, *Der Einfluss der Reformation auf die Armenpflege*, Stuttgart 1896, 20-2.

ing of the monasteries and the lapse of other old religious foundations the question came up, What shall be done with their property and income? In Leisnig it was determined to found a common chest, from which the town would wisely supply the needs of the citizens. Two nobles, two councilors, three citizens and three peasants were a committee of administration. The first provision was that the congregation or community should have full power to call, induct or dismiss their pastors, and see to it that in every house God's Word should be used for instruction and reformation of life. In the churches two boxes were to be placed for gifts of bread, cheese, eggs, meat, and two offertory cases for money for the common chest, as well as the regular offering. The president had to distribute the victuals to the poor, and on Sunday exhort to the honour of God and love to the neighbour. From the chest the church buildings are to be kept up, and the salaries of the ministers and sextons paid. This salary is to be a fixed sum, with no leeway for gifts or fees. All begging is prohibited. But all the poor are to be carefully looked after, and all orphan children educated and trained in handwork. Artisans and peasants hard pressed shall have money advanced to them, and if without fault of their own they are incapable of paying they shall be excused the debt. Strangers shall also be helped in a similar way. Purchases shall be made for the common good, in cheap years provisions bought up and used for the need of the whole community. All are bound to regular contributions.

Now this was a pretty thoroughgoing socialism for that time. What was Luther's attitude toward it? Cordial. He praised it highly. He hoped that this would be an example to other towns how they could administer and use the churchly wealth. The old monks, who had not themselves freely left the cloister, should be carefully taken care of. From the city monasteries schools for both boys and girls should be provided. The Leisnig ordinance pointed the way to the modern method of dealing with the problem of poverty,

viz. as an affair of the whole community—every congregation responsible for its own poor. Both schools and the poor are the subject of common civic and ecclesiastical concern—an idea which revolutionized this branch of economics. Luther's hearty support of the Leisnig socialism reveals a side to him not often mentioned. At the same time he was far from putting a premium on poverty, as we have seen. The poor should have from the public enough for life, but their lot should not be made so easy that they would prefer poverty to work.¹

Prof. Nikolaus Müller of Berlin has discovered that not only Leisnig but also Wittenberg had its common chest. As early as January 1521 there was in the latter city an *Ordnung des gemeinen Beutels zur Erhaltung Haus- und anderer armer bedürftiger Leute zu Wittenberg*, though this had only to do with the poor. There were to be reputable overseers elected, who should help the poor intelligently and with careful discrimination, based on a visit to their homes. Money should be contributed for this common object, and grain and wood should be purchased by the city for this purpose. The preachers are to exhort the people and make them considerate. For the success of the plan almost everything depends on the preachers and overseers.²

Both the Leisnig and Wittenberg ordinances show Luther in the rôle of a civic semi-socialist reformer. City and congregation as a common body functionized as a paternal society. They looked after the income of the congregation and the systematic care of the poor. This latter is no *opus operatum*, no religious tribute to conscience or to purgatory, but an organized ethical act of the whole community. Not

¹ 21 : 336. Luther published the Leisnig ordinances with a preface 22 : 105ff. (*Ordnung eines gemeinen Kastens*, 1523, reprinted in Leitzmann's admirable series, 'Eine Texte für theol. Vorlesungen u. Übungen,' Bonn, 1908), and information will be found in Ward, 90ff; Braasch, *Luthers Stellung zum Sozialismus*, Bramschneig, 1897, 146ff.; Köstlin, 5 Auf. 1. I, 550f.

² See Seeberg, 841-2.

only the poor, but also (in Leisnig) artisans and peasants who needed temporarily a helping hand should receive it. 'That is a new principle,' says Seeberg, 'a churchly-social thought. It is the duty of the society (or congregation) not only to help when the need is already present, but also to reach out assistance as a prophylactic against the future. In other words, not only mission, but also social, work is the task of the congregation.'¹

In the matter of capital Luther never got beyond the mediaeval view. Not that he shared the mediaeval praise of poverty as a special virtue, or looked upon the generous bestowal of one's goods in the Church as the chief end of life, but that he held that naive attitude toward nature and the simple life which was the ruling one at a time when men lived near the soil, and large accumulations of capital were unknown and were useless in any case. In some cases there had been an advance, and large business houses, like the famous firm of the Fuggers, sprang up. But this tendency Luther did not like. To keep near to nature, to carry on a small business in simplicity, industry, and piety, was his ideal. 'Of the productivity of capital,' says Roscher, 'Luther has as little conception as the strict canon law.'² Still, he had some conception of the place of capital, as he vindicates interest in the case of necessity, such, for instance, as that of a widow left with a small property, who has the right to put her wealth where it will bring her in a living.³

In general it may be said of Luther's social-economic views that they were neither modern nor revolutionary. For the most part they marked a continuity with the Middle Ages, not a break. Of course his abolition of monasticism and celibacy, and his treatment of work and poverty were really both modern and revolutionary, and all this had beneficent and far-reaching consequences even in the econo-

¹ Seeberg, *lib. cit.*, 842-3.

² *Gesch. der Nationalökonomik in Deutschland*, München, 1874, 59.

³ 28 : 306.

mic world. His judgement of economic questions was ethical and religious. What the Scripture prescribed, according to his understanding of them, was valid. When either party—noble or peasant—went beyond and contradicted this norm they were self-condemned. As the Scriptures did not lay down a social programme, neither would he. As they did not abolish slavery, neither would he abolish the feudal system. But Church and clergy had social duties; they must work for social betterment; they must abate wrong; they must preach obedience, peace, brotherhood, love. But they do not have to create new social institutions. That is the work of the State with the advice of experts. Princes and the Reichstag must do away with usury and credit; they must regulate prices, watch over trade, and punish evil. 'May God give again an Alexander or a Solon to restrain or prevent usury.' Jurists, not preachers, have to decide such matters.¹ The State must advance to help the people. It is not for itself, but for the common weal. It must abate social ills, do away with abuse, bad laws, &c., helped by the Church as spiritual leader and inspirer, not as head nor dominator.

Luther was not infallible. Some of his views were mistaken and have been long since outgrown. But it is doubtful whether after all the modern minister can do better than follow some of the main lines of his teaching. (1) Church and clergy must understand the social conditions of their age. (2) They must give their faithful testimony to the moral and religious demands of Christianity. They shall call sin sin, misery misery. 'They should not bend before the age-spirit and its idols, nor stoop before the rich or mighty, before science or popular favour.'² Luther's reproofs of governments and overgrown mercantile establishments, of interest and the peasants, were perhaps at times one-sided, but they showed the greatness of the man. They were the expression—whether mistaken or not—of great ethical and religious

¹ 20 : 117, 122; 22 : 204; 23 : 284, 296ff.; 24 : 282.

² Seeberg, 855.

principles, and these are the preacher's throne. (3) Nor need the Church hold back to-day from favouring actual remedies for economic grievances that look towards socialism, any more than she did at Leisnig and Wittenberg. But as to the details of social adjustments she had better leave these to statesmen, jurists, and other experts. (4) The State must address itself to evils in this field with determined earnestness. Roosevelt's reformatory activity against the exploitation of the public by the great corporations was in the spirit and power of Luther. It would have made him shout for joy. (5) Preacher, statesman, social reformer, must ever keep his faith bright in God, and in His leading of the world through law and ordered progress.

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PETER ILICH TCHAIKOVSKY

WE live in a time when men do not so much contemplate Nature as make hurried demands of her. We look eagerly at Life as into the eyes of a lover whose hand already touches the rail of the ship that is to carry her into the unknown. It is almost as though we had ceased to believe in immortality: it is certainly as though we had ceased to believe in life as one long event, and had begun to regard it as a series of detached and vivid crises. It is a period of rapid perception rather than of quiet reflection. This insistence upon brevity finds expression in the music of Tchaikovsky: there is in his work a constant use of climax; and coma follows turbulence; it is a succession of moods which change apparently without cause. It is the voice of a soul in constant oppression between opposing forces which are engaged in continual and deadly warfare for a supremacy which none may hold for long; it is the expression of one born of a country shackled and scored by ice, set at liberty by the sun, and withered by the black flame of a despotic aristocracy.

National spirit, like architectural style, is largely a product of climate and strata. Where the rivers and inland seas gird themselves in armour and the hills in kirtles of white for months together; where a frigid winter suddenly gives place to a spring of rushing waters followed by a tropical summer, one finds steep gables and sturdy timbers; sudden passions and relentless wills to fling aside and stave back the fierce and changeful elements. It is the countries of suffering and unrest that have been compensated by the birth of the greatest artists; and it is to temperaments capable of tragedy that the consolation of music is given.

But although in regarding the temperament of a Russian one must needs consider Russia, yet the soul lies in a profounder depth than temperament, which is the plane of contact between soul and environment; and the soul of a man has pinnacles and shadows altogether apart from the mountains which surround it. The man himself forms the character of the events which encircle him. Tragedy is the result of a decision of the soul, and seldom comes from without. Indeed, so much does the soul influence events, that at times it would seem that it is entirely dependent upon her particular potentiality what manner of events shall approach and what recede. The event, in fact, so far from making a man, is in its essence made by him; and he stands in its presence as before a lighted brand in the darkness which he himself has plucked from the Fires of Destiny. Each man carries within him the history of his own future, as a seed contains the whole bush of blossoms, and it is his own hand which strikes the sound from the Gongs of Fate, though environment may add a hundred triumphant echoes, or deaden it to a muffled reverberation.

Tchaikovsky was born in the early part of 1840 at Kamsko-Votinsk. As a boy he was passionate, and possessed a healthy dislike for order and tidiness. It is recorded by Fanny Durbach, his French governess, that he once opened his atlas at the map of the world, kissed Russia and smeared the rest with the blot of oblivion; but because of the love he bore her, he preserved her country from the avenging wave by a protecting thumb. That unstudied act of a moment uncovered the springs of Tchaikovsky's life, and the main points of his character stand revealed.

It was not long before he found that there was something which compelled him to listen. He could not tell whether it was a voice among the hills that called to him, or the note of a horn. It was very far away. He tried to put words together that would sound like it. He wrote them to

rhyme and rhythm—and then stopped. One day he drummed with his fingers on the window until it broke; but he had discovered something. The sound which persisted in being heard, had begun to follow his tapping on the glass; it rose and fell again; grew softer and then loud; divided, and became two threads of melody; divided again, and became a full chord of harmony. It became a river floating among hills; a river of light amid cliffs of crystal; a river bedded with pearls, and bearing a ship of gold with a silver lamp, whose rigging shook out notes under the fingers of the wind. The dream which had flung its film over the glass broke with the window. But Peter had found what it was that called to him.

Fanny Durbach comprehended him, and while she was his governess he developed such things as were individual and beautiful in him, learning to draw mystery from the piano keys, and adding the magic of his own ears to the performances of a mechanical organ. He had an enthusiastic curiosity which demanded that all should be explained to him; he was happy, unconscious, and full of vitality and charm. When he was eight years old, his parents, having moved to St. Petersburg, sent him to a boarding-school there; but his soul, as delicate as the wings of the scarabaeus, shrank back as beneath a burnished covering. The gentle fingers of his governess had left its fabric luminous and undamaged, but the public school regarded delicacy as a weakness that could only be cured by violence; which creed has still a following in a more serious world.

The change that followed was pathetic and prolonged. The very source of his originality now made him appear usual and colourless. His sensitive temperament discovered itself by compelling him to conform his life and adapt his actions to those of his fellows. To be surprised in the possession of a virtue or of a talent is as unbearable to a sensitive child as the indignity of wearing a coat of unusual shape, or suffering under a physical deformity; and nothing

is so painful to him as to find himself differing from those around.

Colours have little more than half their distinction alone. Placed upon an indiscriminate background, even the most beautiful petal may appear dim and commonplace. It is one of the more subtle laws in many spheres that perfection is a dual quality. The yellow furze and the purple heather will for ever enhance the other's radiance. A man may be indolent or dull, listless and full of regrets until fortune shall change the scheme of his environment—take the rose out of the red poppies and set it against a green bank.

The strain of trying to discover the mistake in his nature weakened his health and his initiative, and he became unable to work. This indolence, so strange to his understanding, drove him to desperation; and in his endeavour to comprehend wherein his salvation lay, he affected conventionality until he began almost to believe in it. He lost all his delightful charm and the desire to make music. The minstrel of his soul was silent, and the shadow approached his side which was to accompany him throughout his life.

The next stage in his career completed the impenetrability of his mask. At nineteen he was appointed to a government clerkship, and developed outwardly in mediocre accomplishments. But inwardly a quiet strength lay coiled and tense; as unperceivable as the fires in the heart of a frozen world. The soul of the sun was 'hid in the dam of the beaver awaiting the springtime.'

Tchaikovsky had discovered the great law of all production, the law of silence and secrecy. He worked slowly on, in an inner twilight. He had listened to the whispering of the rivers beneath their frozen surface in the spring; he had heard the strange and inspiring sound as the waters slowly raised the ice, grinding and lifting floe after floe, until they reared it into a glistening bastion, packing it behind with block upon block of frozen blue, until the buttressed

tower trembled ; rising in a silent flood until the dazzling masonry of winter reeled, cracked, and burst, and the river leapt away, shining and unfettered amid the flowers and trumpeting of spring.

There comes a time in the lives of all individual thinkers when their own distinctive globe of thought must claim for itself a separate life, when it must free itself like a bubble from a dim and glimmering sea, and rising upwards above the encasing cliffs, float poised and iridescent in the sun.

The first movement towards a new life occurred when Tchaikovsky, smiling from out of the darkness of his morbid seclusion upon his two little brothers, attempted to dispel their loneliness. His human love, chilled by the night of his bitterness, had stirred again, and his soul had made a gesture towards the dawn. The second movement appeared when, in his twenty-third year, he joined the harmony class at the New Conservatorium of St. Petersburg. But it was not until another year had passed that he entirely detached himself from all that was connected with his clerkship, entering more completely into the Conservatorium both as assistant professor and student, realizing that to him music was the only door of a fuller life. The moment of strength had come at last ; like all great crises, it was noticeable for the absence of dramatic accessories. It was simply that the internal had outgrown the external—the flower had shaken itself free of the withered bract.

In November 1865 Tchaikovsky accepted a professorship in Moscow Conservatorium ; and with this, for a time, the external events of his life ceased to be conspicuous, and the inward life developed undisturbed.

The mind of Mendelssohn was simple and domestic ; his music is often surrounded by the atmosphere of the hearthstone ; it is the music of the mother and child ; its rhythm is the flickering among the rafters of shadows from the fire. Chopin speaks of trees whose branches are as hammered silver, with leaves of soft gold. His storms are magnetic

and cloudless, casting no silence over his cataract of glistening bells. Mendelssohn does not venture into the storm; Chopin ventures, climbs the heights until it is beneath him, and then sublimizes it.

Tchaikovsky has no shelter, no retreat. He was born in the storm, it is his habitation. Nor are his storms of short duration; they are continual, like the settling of the elements of a wild and primeval world. There is in his music the uncouth energy of the forces of creation, that meet in collision and form an abyss at a blow, and fling up the loosened rock to fashion a mountain or a star. The cymbals of his orchestra clash; a white flame splits the hot bars of an iron sky, leaving blots of green dancing about a dim sun. The seas beneath surge up from the lowest fissures, bearing forward with flying flags of breaking foam, in the wind that roars in its search for that which it has never found.

Tchaikovsky's exaltation is not in attainment, but in passionate desire. His grief was not occasioned so much by that which he had lost, as by that which he could never attain. It is this wind of ever-questing desire that rushes through the strings of his last and confessional symphony: moaning in a long adagio down the cloisters of time; rising a tone, perhaps, but never failing; drawing deep sounds from the galleries of the centuries as though it disturbed some age-long sleep; turning each aisle into a diapason; shaking at the doors that bar the tombs of ancient kings; stirring dead and golden leaves in their dreams; hovering over the still basins of fountains; breaking into a spray of a thousand drops the dreaming image of a pale Narcissus; pondering over eyes that are dim with the secrets of love; spilling mirrors of dew, as it kisses the crimson-cupped flowers; compelling the bowed homage of trees; breaking the apple boughs; casting passionate tears over the hills; knowing nothing save that the world holds a vast secret; and striving with tightened fingers to rend the veil which hides all. Nay,

it is this wind which one may hear even in the louvres of the highest turret of the soul, that sounds its note through all Tchaikovsky's music ; for it bears on its wings Tragedy and Hope and Love ; and these are the Lords of Art.

In his constant use of minor keys, Tchaikovsky carried his sorrow to desolation, but never to bitterness. He found that to the sincere there is no triumph, only continual search—the following of a dark path in a forest. He was defiant but did not engage himself in the battle of shadows against traditions of art, yet he was too full of emotion to be classical. Those amongst whom he lived used such forms as Opera, Tone-poem, and Fantasia ; but Tchaikovsky preferred mainly, though not rigidly, the concerto and symphony.

The classicist looks outwards, the modernist delves within, and in his acuter self-consciousness has found a more refined beauty and a keener pain. He substitutes intensity for exuberance, and for the rambling grace of Nature, the fiercer symbols of the spirit. Instead of the forest dimly observed, he gives us the rose-tree minutely understood. The modernist has discovered that the smaller is incalculably greater than the large ; that the pearl is more valuable than the field, and that the whispered word may be more terribly eloquent than the finest peroration. Tchaikovsky was a modernist, but not an ultra-modernist, the difference between the two being that the latter mistakes wildness for passion, and the smallness of size for intensity of essence ; and for liberty, fractured laws and the trammels of anarchy.

But though Tchaikovsky had noble counsels, he did not always follow them ; abandoning restraint where it should have been preserved. Yet he knew that it was much stronger to delay an inspiration than immediately to seek expression for it ; to hold it in bondage, poised, ecstatic, and compressed, until its very beauty should melt all his show of strength, and leap like a delayed spring into fountains of

blossom, and pools of perfume, and sweep its fragrant winds as quivering music over his strung senses.

Like the alchemists who waited for the grouping of the stars before firing their retorts, Tchaikovsky waited for the seasons of his soul before evolving a theme—never hurrying, but watching always for the moment when his thoughts should fall together into the precise figure. For the soul has constellations which conspire and hold conference together; and a moon which may wane in its purpose or wax round and full over a golden harvest.

This power of watchful patience which Tchaikovsky showed during the period of his clerkship, remained one of the strongest forces of his nature. There was in him the activity of silence; and as one's mind jests while the soul gathers the events of its life's tragedy, he was content to follow a quiet occupation until his thought should be born triumphant and terribly beautiful.

There were periods, as when he composed the *Tempest* overture, which came without warning, and regardless of circumstance, when Tchaikovsky saw beauty with an almost supernatural vision; as though the door at the end of the world slipped its latch, and through the cleft shimmered a silver spear—the light of discovery and revelation. In these moments, timeless like fragments of eternity, the lapping of a brook, or the falling of a stone, would suffice to start the triumphant motion of a whole symphony.

Tchaikovsky was a master of melody and construction, though he was not always refined. He often allowed prejudice to form him rather than affinity. His emotions were not always subjective like the poets', but often objective like those of the early dramatists; and for this reason his music is sometimes pretty where it should have been delicate, crude where it should have been strong. He was moody; light was followed in his thoughts by shade and deeper shade; yet it is doubtful if he ever lived for long at the source of his emotions. He was engaged with their culmina-

tion. The shadows moved, he noted their passage and sought no farther, and thus sometimes never saw the sun which cast them.

It is not the essence of music that it shall have a melody, nor yet even harmonies, to be remembered. Music must take one beyond itself; it is a symbol—a controlling Sesame. Tchaikovsky, in the exercise of his exuberant faculty for invention, too often allowed himself to be content with a glimmering palace of sound—a literal description, forgetting occasionally that the spirit of music is the spirit of incantation; that it is a cabala which may evoke dim dreams of events which have passed beyond us, or which still remain unborn. This is the higher purpose which is already engaging all the arts; that by rhythm one can induce a subtle and trembling union between our souls and such life as is unbodied. One may forget the outlines of a theme, as one is eluded by the details of a picture, and yet remain purified—forgetting the key and the door, in the new world with which one has been surrounded. Tune in music, subject in picture, these are but the elements of construction, the level surface of a lake over which a ripple of mystic rhythm may pass, fired with colour like the plumage of a kingfisher.

We regard the forest; it is useless that we trace the history of its evolution or the details of its grouping, we remain unmoved. But a bird flutters in its nest among the branches, or a shadow is cast by a flower, and behold: the world has been transformed, a message has arrived, and communion with the inner spirit has been established. This is the duty of all art: not that it shall portray, but that it shall draw the consciousness away from itself—not that it shall create a fantastic vision upon its own merits, but that it shall place the soul among the visions and purple prophecies that are always her own, but which, in her wanderings and vain dalliance, she loses and forgets.

It may be that Tchaikovsky's music is too often lacking in this unselfconscious freedom, for where he would call to Joy,

as in the *Capriccio Italien*, one hears the beating of his wings against the bars of a prison. The iron that has entered his soul brands even his gaiety. He has become the warder of his country's woes, and the signature of its captivity is upon the score.

There are times when his music is full of brilliant colour; though it is like a broken mosaic of sound, and the general effect resembles the chuckle of the little noises in a wood, where one hears a host of small fowl, running water and the stir of leaves; each sound being separate and unrelated, yet resulting in enthralling harmony. At other times, his music is like Rodin's *Le Penseur*, there is no sign of the refining file, only of the grim and accurate chisel; planes of tone meet in deliberate and uncompromising angles. It is so colossal as sometimes to be like the grotesque castles of legend whose foundations are in the fires of the earth, and whose clustered vanes are among the fires of the sky. He seeks occasionally a perfection of ugliness like the early craftsmen who fashioned cathedral gargoyles, and like them only succeeds in being beautiful.

His music is more national than personal; what it occasionally lacks in subtlety, it gains in crude grandeur. Like Charles Dickens, of whose work, by the way, he was a profound admirer, he delighted in interior comfort only so long as it was an enclosure amid external storm. This is the symbol of the attitude of Tchaikovsky to his own distracted mind. There is a little composition for the piano called *By the Fireside*; but it is a fireside whose settle-window overlooks a bleached wilderness. His mind was often torn by a furious wind, and lashed by the whips of a driven rain, but his soul remained an ingle of repose and security, like the poplar-tree in the German love-story, which stood in a high tempest, but without one glittering ray of silver escaping from among the motionless branches.

If Tchaikovsky is popular, it is because he appeals to the greatness of a crowd. Not because he speaks to the average

single mind, but because he speaks to the aggregate collective mind ; because he considers the emotions of a crowd, as distinguished from those of a mere collection of separated individuals. And yet there is more than this, he is elemental almost to the point of being pagan ; it is as though he built a temple with doors of brass, but among the columns one hears the flutter of doves.

But it is always the emotion of masses which he interprets ; in his *Valse des Fleurs* it is not the beauty of individual flowers one feels, but of the warm spirit of the earth, which being loved by the sun, answers with banks of bindweed, fields of blue succory, golden rod, and basil-thyme ; and hangs them over with floating lakes of silver mist, and the incense of bergamot and daphne. The *Casse Noisette* is, of course, a deliberately playful fantasy ; but it is none the less a beautiful work of art. It has not the grandeur of human emotion, but it has all the explosive importance which one associates with the marionette. The *Danse de la Fée Dragee* is of the realm of crystals and delicate fabrics spun by the frost ; where the icicles are rung by the silent moving of the night air, or in the dread shade of an eclipse. It has the strange import of the incantation and sorcery which could draw the dusky force from the dark side of the moon. The inanimate herbs hold discourse, and shadows move with a detached life, no longer bearing any relation to the objects which cast them.

Tchaikovsky realized a nation, but he did not realize individual temperament. His world was an elemental network of primitive forces. He saw the beginnings of things, he was able to dip his hand into the principle of life, and bestow it from the hollow of his palm ; but he could not perceive the intricate and diverse possibilities of life. He could believe that the smile of the moon among the boughs like a veiled bride was a beautiful thing, but he did not know that the smile of a woman was a more beautiful and a more vital thing, for it is not until a man has loved in a

greater way than he loves his work, that he produces his noblest art.

It was the hand of Nadejda Von Meck that was to lead Tchaikovsky from the gloom that began to steal upon him. The friendship between them was unique. Nadejda had been possessed of such strong practical genius as to lead her husband from penury to fortune ; and such poetry of music in her soul as, when he had died, to cause the glimmering lamps to swing in the unlit grottoes of Tchaikovsky's mind and awaken the light within the crystals that lay there. She gave him an income of £600 a year which enabled him to give up teaching and devote himself to his art. Tchaikovsky had lost his hopes one by one, and his life had become like a river that has flowed out of the sparkle of the day into the chamber of a deep lock at night, and slowly expanding, unfolds its curves within the dark gates of the sluice.

With an altogether unbalanced sense of gratitude and chivalry, Tchaikovsky asked Antonina Miliovkov to become his wife in 1877. The shadow of this marriage, which was almost immediately followed by a separation, was so much darker and more hopeless than even Tchaikovsky had foreseen, that it nearly became the shadow of death ; and although one might desire to question the action of Antonina, one feels that Tchaikovsky never descended from a spirit of knightly nobility.

It was the temperamental belief of Tchaikovsky that when a strain of opinion arose between himself and another, the fault was his own. This is one of the secrets of his charm, and of his secluded life ; it accounts also for the destruction of several early scores upon the advice of Balarakiev, or because of the apathy of a few violinists. This same characteristic gave him too much reverence for the opinions of the orchestras with whom he rehearsed his works to become a strong conductor. He followed his destiny much closer when he was shut away from the world in his own room, liberating his caged griefs in his music. He

died in 1893, a few days after the production of his famous Sixth (Pathetic) Symphony in St. Petersburg. Although he conducted it himself, it was received there with little understanding, but when in February 1894 it was produced by the Philharmonic Society, its wild harmonies created such enthusiasm that its repetition was demanded for their next concert.

Sorrow may fasten her hood upon the artist, he is but frail; and although he may often hear the rustle of wings among the leaves, his perception of that which is unbeautiful and surrounded with pain is as intense as his vision of the beautiful. And none may escape the grief of petals trampled under foot, if his heart beat quicker at the unfolding of the bud.

Yet there is no perception more trivial than that which discovers the composer of the music of sorrow to have added to the burden of the world. It is an inversion of truth. We are none of us free until our sorrow has been expressed; when Tchaikovsky makes the bows draw rushing chords of grief from the waiting strings, he has given our pain a radiant form, and we laugh like children from pure joy of the miracle which has happened. The wonder which is ever new has come to pass; we have been understood. The branches of the tree have been cast into the waters and Marah has lost its bitterness. The love we had lost becomes enshrined in a mystic sorrow, painless and beautiful as the departing sun; and the clouds—dark craft—which bear it to its great repose, have become luminous, and have gathered for torches the radiance of clustered flowers. We have been sanctified, for art is purification; the changing of heavy earth into blossom; the drawing of harmony from chaos. It is the progress to good from evil, which is the finding of God.

FREDERIC LAWRENCE.

AN OLD SCHOOLMASTER

THE Church has often been accused of a certain enmity to secular learning, and of a desire to keep education in her own hands. Particularly, we are told, has this been the case in newly-converted countries, where she has repeatedly endeavoured to stamp out entirely the previous civilization, and to make herself the sole fountain of knowledge. The devoutest churchman may perhaps partially admit the impeachment, and reply that in many countries, without the Church, there would have been no regular education at all. The introduction of Christianity to an ignorant people has been at the same time the introduction of science; and if the primary aim of the missionary has been to teach his own creed, and the teaching of letters generally only an incidental object, it is surely small blame to him.

Be this as it may—and in some countries it has certainly been so—in Iceland the Church needs hardly even this excuse. While in England, for example, the earlier Christians made an almost clean sweep of the old legends and poems, retaining only those to which they could conveniently give a Christian colouring, the Icelandic churchmen showed a remarkable liberality. To one great clergyman, Saemund, if we may believe a well-attested tradition, we owe the preservation of that wonderful mass of epics and songs called the Elder Edda; to another, Snorri Sturluson, that splendid work without which Norse mythology would be almost unintelligible, the Younger or Prose Edda. A third priest, Ari the Learned, spent his time in collating and synchronizing the genealogies of the heathen chiefs, all of whom, in theory, the Church believed to be eternally condemned.

Christianity, in fact, found in Iceland no barbarous race, but one skilled in the arts of poetry, story-telling, oratory and war. Hence, in starting her great work of teaching,

she strove not so much to destroy as to fulfil. For good or for evil, she displaced verbal tradition by the written word; she made a half-hearted endeavour to substitute ecclesiastical hymns and choral songs for the old folk-song; she compelled her priests to learn Latin; but she recognized the grandeur of her inheritance in the sagas of an immemorial past. She started—as she has always done in every land where she has gained a footing—schools and colleges in which her doctrines could be taught; but in them she also taught the native literature and secured the permanence of the native histories. For this let her have the credit that is her due.

A school was an utterly unheard-of institution in Iceland till the advent of Christianity. The great chiefs kept *skalds* or bards to sing or tell the family traditions; and these bards passed on their knowledge to pupils; but a regular school, even of poetry, was quite unknown. Yet no sooner was the Church acknowledged in the country than schools were founded and began to flourish. The change of faith—largely nominal, of course, at first—came about in A.D. 1000, and must be regarded rather as a political than as a religious move. But we hear dimly of schools very soon afterwards. The first bishop, Isleif, was consecrated in 1056; and at once there arose a school in connexion with the church at his episcopal residence at Skalholt. Isleif himself had studied abroad, under an abbess in Norway; and he was desirous that the learning he had thus acquired should neither perish with him nor be as difficult of attainment as he had himself found it. The curriculum, it is true, was not wide; it seems to have been confined mainly to reading, singing, penmanship and ecclesiastical Latin: but, such as it was, it was a good beginning. Nor was it the only institution of the kind. Not far off, at Haukdale, a man named Hall had a school, at which Isleif's son Teit received his education: and Isleif was too generous a man not to welcome coadjutors. His connexion with his own schools must have been rather

that of warden or overseer than that of head master, for his diocese was enormous, and his journeys long and vexatious. Nevertheless the influence of his personality was great, and his pupils cherished for him the same feelings as did Rugby boys of the thirties towards Arnold, or Uppingham boys of the seventies towards Thring. The most famous of these pupils was the saintly John, afterwards bishop of the northern diocese of Holar. Throughout his life, whenever John heard people talking of a good man, he would say, 'Yes, my master Isleif was a holy man indeed.' 'But why, who has mentioned Isleif?' they would say. 'No one; but whenever I hear a good man spoken of, Isleif always comes into my mind.'

Isleif's son Teit, who was apparently a more learned man than his father, carried on his teaching work. Among Teit's friends was the famous Saemund, the discoverer of the Edda; and among his pupils two who afterwards became distinguished bishops, Thorlak Runolfson and Bjorn of Holar. Another son of Isleif, Gizur, who succeeded his father in the see of Skalholt, was himself a learned man, having been sent abroad to Saxony to complete his education; but he was renowned rather for the magnificence of his ideas and for his commanding position as a statesman than for his eminence as a teacher. He had, however, among other fine gifts, an eye for a *man*; and in his choice of the saintly John for the newly-founded bishopric of Holar in the north of Iceland, he showed his knowledge of character to the best advantage. It is here that we begin to catch our first true glimpse of the Icelandic school. We know John from a charming biography, which indeed deserves to rank with Izaak Walton's immortal Lives. A true saint and a good bishop, he might well detain us long; but it is with John the schoolmaster that we have here exclusively to deal. He had many qualifications for the post. A pupil of Isleif and of Teit, he was a first-rate singer—it is remarkable how often a good voice is noticed as an addition to the necessary equipment of a bishop—a noble elocutionist, and a fair Latin

scholar. Of his skill as a reader the following anecdote is told. In his youth, in order to improve his knowledge, he set out from Iceland and came first to Norway and then to Denmark. There, in the royal church one Sunday, the officiating priest read the service so badly that he was well-nigh a laughing-stock to the congregation, and a shame to his learned profession. At length, when the scandal was unendurable, John stepped up to the desk, and 'with great lowliness' took the book from the priest's hand, and read the Passion so nobly and distinctly that all men marvelled that were there assembled. When the service was over, the king, who had been in the congregation, sent for him, and received him with great honour into the palace, where he stayed indeed a great while, gaining glory by his angelic singing and playing on the harp.

On his return from Denmark, already recognized as a future bishop and pillar of the Church, he brought with him as his companion the renowned Saemund the Learned; for, as the biographer says, 'between these two men there was brotherly love and great likeness in many things.' That among these 'many things' was included devotion to learning was speedily manifest; for when, in 1106, John became Bishop of Holar, one of his chief cares was to establish a school on a sound footing, which should be to the north of Iceland all, and more than all, that Isleif's school had been to the south. Unable, from the multiplicity of his engagements, to teach in person, he chose, as grammar master, the most learned man he could find, Gisli Finnason, a Swede from Gautland. It is pleasing to hear that he paid Gisli a good salary for his services.

Of Gisli's methods of teaching we obtain an interesting view from an anecdote preserved for us by the biographer. Text-books being scarce, he was compelled, like a schoolmaster of the Renaissance, to make his pupils repeat the declensions and conjugations after him. The noise was often as great as it is in a modern elementary school. Close at

hand was the church, and employed on the decoration of the church was a skilled carpenter named Thorodd Gamlason. As Thorodd worked, the sound of the repetition was borne to him. So quick was he, we are told, that the lessons stuck in his brain; almost without knowing it he became a master of grammar, and in a few years he was known as the most accomplished grammarian in Iceland. A treatise of his (if we may trust a probable conjecture of Vigfusson's) has come down to us, and reveals him as indeed a notable man. He was acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek alphabets, and understood English and Latin in addition to his native Norse. For comprehensive knowledge of sounds, and for the thoroughness of his attempt to represent them by symbols (his Icelandic alphabet comprises sixty-four letters, many of which were in use long after), he is perhaps without a rival until we come to the phoneticians of the nineteenth century.

Classical Latin works were few. We do indeed hear that one of the scholars, Klong, afterwards Bishop of Skalholt, obtained possession of a copy of Ovid's *Art of Love*; but one is not surprised to learn that as soon as the good bishop heard of it, he took the book away, and administered a sound reprimand to the pupil. Ecclesiastical works were more common. Pope Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* (translated into English, as is well known, by King Alfred) was certainly studied: we hear of it as one of the books of John's contemporary, Bishop Thorlak of Skalholt. Bede's *Church History* we know from other sources to have been familiar to learned Icelanders, and may well have been a text-book at Holar.

To teach singing and the making of Latin verses—the combination is significant of much—John engaged a Frenchman, Rikini by name. The 'verses' were doubtless to a great extent the accented hymns of the monkish type; but verses on the classical model were certainly attempted. Bishop Paul, in a later generation, was noted as a first-rate composer. The technical name for this accomplishment

was *dikta* : the vernacular poet was a 'skald,' and was said to make *visir* or lays. It is to be feared that the lines were usually 'leonine' or 'cristate' rather than Virgilian; a weary waste of ingenuity. Bishop Laurence, on a visit to the Archbishop of Norway, though himself a performer, expressed a modern opinion by quoting the leonine, '*Versificatura nihil est nisi maxima cura.*' The Archbishop, despising the whole exercise, retorted, '*Versificatura nihil est nisi falsa figura,*' and bade him throw up the amusement in favour of the study of canon law.

But native poetry was not suppressed. Klong, the most famous of John's pupils, was 'the best of skalds.' The bishop rightly set his face against the loose *mansongs* or love-ditties which were then so popular, but he had no objection to the more reputable lays and sagas. Of St. Thorlak of Skalholt, a little later than the time we have reached, we read that he was 'a diligent listener to what his mother could tell him, the genealogies and stories of great men'; and in his later years, rejecting only plays (usually vulgar), he 'took pleasure in sagas and poems, and in all kinds of lays and ballads.' Would that the same broad-mindedness had characterized the early churchmen of England! We should not then have had to mourn the loss of nearly every old English epic; nor would *Beowulf* have been preserved in but a single MS.

A school under the guidance of John was not likely to neglect elocution or public reading. This was indeed a feature in all Icelandic schools. Boys were taught to pronounce as carefully as their Athenian predecessors in the schools which produced Aeschines and Demosthenes. John himself, we are told, rarely preached his own sermons: he preferred to read those of others; and much more must this have been the case with less gifted men. Good reading, then, would assume a special importance.

Second only to elocution, if second, was penmanship. The scholars copied mass-books and other ecclesiastical

works, but do not seem to have neglected native writings. These MSS. became the models for those exquisite (if often highly-abbreviated) vellums which have preserved the sagas to our own time. It was at John's school that Klong acquired the beautiful hand which gained him such renown. Among the many titles to distinction of the magnificent and scholarly Bishop Paul, penmanship is noted as not the least. An anecdote shows the value set by John upon this accomplishment. One of his pupils, named Thorward, a good writer, came to the bishop shortly before his death. He had with him a book which he had copied for a brother-priest, who was then at a distance; and the two had agreed that the bishop should set a price on the book. John welcomed the priest cheerfully. 'Come to me, my son, and give me the kiss of peace before I die.' The priest went near and kissed him; then he showed him the book, and asked him to fix the price. The bishop looked at the book and praised it much. 'Good is this book, and well written also, but it shall not be allowed to *him* to have it, but to some other man.' The priest answered, 'Why, father? for if thou put a price on it, gladly will he pay.' The bishop replied, 'Needless is it to put a price thereon, for he is dead to whom thou didst agree to sell it.' And shortly afterwards came the news that the said priest was dead; wherefore men deemed the holy John to have special grace from God to know a thing so far away.

With such stories the biography is filled: but whether John was a prophet or not, we may well agree that he deserved a place on the hardly less distinguished roll of great schoolmasters, along with Vittorino, Comenius, and Pestalozzi; among those souls honoured by former ages—

Whose is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted and fallen and died.

E. E. KELLETT.

PRINCIPLES OF THE ATONEMENT

The Doctrine of the Atonement deduced from Scripture and Vindicated from Misrepresentations and Objections. Six Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, being the Donnellan Lectures for the year 1857. By John Cotter Macdonnell, B.D. (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co. 1858.)

WHILE general expositions of the doctrine of atonement current in the Church from early days abound, works dealing with the principles and laws underlying it are exceedingly rare. Yet the recognition of these laws is necessary to justify the doctrine in the eyes of reason. In the case of a unique fact like the atonement analogies taken from human affairs are imperfect and apply only in a limited degree. The widespread opposition in our days to the doctrine and the repetition of old objections in the old form evince a strange indifference to, or neglect of, the arguments of older writers who appeal to the general analogy of the divine administration.

One example of the uniqueness referred to is that in Scripture propitiation is provided as well as received by God, its source as well as its object is divine. In the first respect propitiation is a display of love, in the second of righteousness. Both views are plainly taught in Scripture; see Rom. iii. 25, v. 8; 1 John ii. 1, iv. 10. It is clear that this twofold relation presented no difficulty to the apostles, whatever it may do to us. It is equally clear that this qualification of the idea of propitiation is of far-reaching import and must be taken into account in judging of the Scripture doctrine. Yet it is often ignored. It is also often assumed that anger and love are incompatible in the

same subject. But the contrary of love is not anger but hate, which is never affirmed of the Divine Being in relation to man. God hates sin, while loving the sinner. The same combination is seen in the relation of parent and child. To the apostles Christ's propitiation is the crowning display of love as well as of righteousness. 'Herein is love, that God sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins,' and there can be no doubt about what St. John understood by propitiation. The favourite notion of our day which makes propitiation the display of love is right as far as it goes, but wrong in what it omits. Love can only be shown in the bestowal of practical benefit. In the teaching of Jesus Christ and the Apostles the benefit is forgiveness. Christ's death and forgiveness are connected together. What other benefit can be alleged?

It may be useful to refer to an old work which deals effectively with the wider considerations so much overlooked in our days. Mr. Macdonnell's *Donnellan Lecture* delivered before the University of Dublin in 1857 discusses acutely and lucidly the cosmical relations of the atonement. His argument is marked by great moderation and restraint, often reminding us in this respect of the second part of Butler's *Analogy*, to which, as well as to other works like Archbishop Magee's, there is frequent reference. The work is not exhaustive. It adduces, not all the Scripture evidence, but representative passages, and then proceeds to its proper subject. The Epistle to the Hebrews is largely, though not exclusively, used, as supplying the complement to the Old Testament doctrine. Both the similarities and the contrasts, especially the latter, are well brought out.

By way of preliminary we may notice a position taken at the outset which is somewhat startling. The author holds that the Old Testament sacrifices had no reference to forgiveness of sin proper, had no religious meaning at all, but were of a ceremonial, political nature, bearing on the relation of the Jews to the theocratic community.

Certainly the passages in the Hebrews which speak of the 'purifying of the flesh' and the impossibility of animal sacrifice taking away sin are explicit enough. We need not enter on the question here. Still the author holds that the old sacrifices, despite their limited purpose, were typical of the great sacrifice which did what they could not do. The argument runs from less to greater: 'if the animal sacrifice avails for outward cleansing, how much more shall the sacrifice of the God-Man avail for spiritual, perfect cleansing!' This part of the exposition seems hardly consistent with another passage which disclaims as non-Scriptural the view that the greatness of the person gives value to the sacrifice. How does this agree with 'How much more shall the blood of Christ,' and 'The blood of Jesus, His Son, cleanses from all sin'? If we ask, How, then, was forgiveness conditioned in the Old Testament? the author aptly replies that the doctrine of sacrifice was not the whole of the Jewish religion. There was an older economy which was not superseded by the law which intervened. We read that 'the Scripture preached the Gospel beforehand unto Abraham.' Our author says, 'A large part of the personal religion of every Israelite remained just as it had been before the promulgation of the Mosaic code, though his privileges under the theocracy were then, for the first time, created and defined. The promises of grace and mercy were coeval with the Fall.' Possibly the view given of the old sacrifices may need some qualification.

Let us come to more important matters. A common cause of error has been the undue extension of figurative language used in describing spiritual transactions, as instanced in Redemption and Satisfaction. The former term is used or implied both by Christ and the Apostles to describe what Christ's death has done for us. Though the term Redemption is figurative and is illustrated by the emancipation of captives and slaves, the spiritual trans-

action is real enough. 'Purchase' is used synonymously with 'redeem.' In Gal. iii. 13 'bought' is rightly represented by 'redeem.' Christ bought *us*. 'Ye were bought with a price.' Christ not only pays, He is the ransom and sacrifice and propitiation (Rom. iii. 25, 1 John ii. 2). It is nowhere directly said that the sacrifice or propitiation is offered to God, but according to the whole usage of Scripture nothing else could be meant. Now comes in a strange thing. Redemption being figured as the freeing of the captive or slave, a counterpart must be found for the slave-owner. As God cannot be thought of in this character, it must be Satan. And so from early days many, though not all by any means, made the ransom-price, which is Christ Himself, to be paid to Satan! This was the consequence of supposing that every feature in a figure or parable must have its analogue in the spiritual truth signified. The same assumption explains the fanciful interpretations of the Gospel parables, which used to be the fashion. In reference to Redemption the first mistake was treating the term, which was interpreted as manumission, as if it were the only term used on the subject, and the second was the supposed necessity of finding a counterpart for every detail of the figure. The first mistake was perhaps the more serious. Redemption was only one of several terms used to describe the effect of Christ's death. It is supplemented and checked by sacrifice, propitiation, expiation. One term must not be used to contradict another. Sacrifice could only be offered to God. The redemption of the slave sets forth only one element in the work of salvation—deliverance from the guilt and bondage of sin. Mr. Macdonnell suggests that redemption may not in Jewish thought have been associated, as in Gentile thought, with the release from slavery. The Jew was rather familiar with the redemption of land and the first-born of cattle and human beings. These belonged to God and had to be redeemed by offerings of different kinds.

'Satisfaction,' a theological, although not a Scriptural term, has suffered in a similar way. The idea of satisfaction for a debt or something due to God is implied in Scripture, where sin is spoken of as a debt and the sinner as a debtor. The different degrees of sin are forcibly represented under this figure. But the figure, instead of being carefully limited to the idea of subjection to penalty which sin involves, was pressed and strained in the most unwarrantable ways. More than redemption it may lead to the most material conceptions of spiritual blessings. Atonement becomes a commercial exchange, instead of a satisfying of the high claims of divine righteousness. The passion of Christ is pictured as a literal equivalent for the suffering of a world of sinners, with other consequences which logic proceeds to draw. Still the abuse of a term is no argument for its complete disuse, and satisfaction has played a large and useful part in the theology of all believers in atonement. In any case there can be no surer canon of Scripture interpretation than that no single term or aspect of truth must be isolated and treated as if it were the whole. History shows only too plainly the mischief which follows from the neglect of this principle. '*Propitiation* is a Scriptural designation of what Christ has done for us. *Satisfaction* has been used to express the same thing; but its application being more extensive, there may be ideas implied in it which are not implied in the Scriptural word, and which must therefore be separated and set aside before making it the basis of logical reasoning.' Satisfaction in common life deals with things; in religious life it deals with persons and their eternal destiny.

Similar caution is necessary in dealing with the elements of substitution and vicariousness implied in all that has been said. That these elements are represented as present in Christ's work is undoubted. It is implied in all the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself and the Apostles about the effects of Christ's death as a ransom, sacrifice, expiation. That

death was 'for you, for sin,' on behalf of or instead of you. Substitution is of things, representation of persons, mediation includes both. To explain away 2 Cor. v. 20, 21, Gal. iii. 13, Rom. v. 12-21 as mere Rabbinical fancy is to dismiss all that is characteristic in Paul's teaching. Substitutionary action is not merely acting for another, but acting with a view to his benefit. The beneficent purpose is an essential part of the process. This is a universal law of human life, and Christ's work is the supreme example of the working of the law. In ordinary life it supposes affinity, kinship between the parties, the ambassador acts for the monarch with others. 'In the case of *things* the possibility of substitution or interchange depends on their own relative value.' And so some have seen in Christ's suffering the exact equivalent of the punishment due to the sinners. 'But when we talk of acts, the value of one act as a substitute for another depends on its being able to produce equivalent effects; and consequently on the power, position, and other circumstances of him who performs it. To make an act of one person a sufficient substitute for that of another or others he must be their adequate representative.' This is the position, not asserted indeed, but assumed in Scripture as belonging to Jesus Christ in relation to man. We say 'assumed,' because without it what is said of Christ's work for us becomes unintelligible. And there is nothing strange in the supposition of such a relation. It is in keeping with the whole course and constitution of nature. It is the law of representative action applied to the relations of man to God. Such statements as 'Christ was made sin for us, made a curse for us,' would be impossible otherwise. Still this does not imply a permanent change or exchange in Christ's position. It was a great act of intervention on our behalf. And reason justifies us in believing that this act did not rest on an arbitrary appointment, 'but on deep and essential relations between God and Christ, and between Christ and man.' While

the efficacy of the old sacrifices rested on positive appointment, the value of Christ's sacrifice is intrinsic. The principle of the first and the second Adam represents an essential element in the world's life. The full benefit of redemption can only be realized through our union with Christ. 'As mediator on man's part He had to take upon Him man's nature and to sum up (recapitulate) humanity in Himself; and so He suffered and died for all, so that in His dying all died; as mediator on God's part He was in union with the divine essence and possessed that life in Himself, which raised them from the grasp of death and made Him a "quickening spirit" to His Church. As the first part of His office has been called "suffering mediation," the latter may be termed "triumphant, kingly mediation."'

Another question in which discrimination is necessary is in the application of the idea of punishment to Christ's sufferings. These are not and cannot be punishment in the proper sense; and yet on the vicarious principle they take the place of punishment as answering the same moral ends. Vicarious suffering is a better phrase than vicarious punishment. Archbishop Magee acknowledges that such suffering is not punishment in the strict sense. 'Notwithstanding,' he says, 'it is a judicial infliction; and it may perhaps be figuratively denominated punishment, if thereby be implied a reference to the actual transgressor.'

The author frequently points out the absence from Scripture of all intimations of theories of atonement, i. e. explanations of the facts asserted. If we ask how sacrifice avails for forgiveness, we get no answer. Speculation on these mysteries of God's dealings is not wrong as long as it is tempered by reverence; indeed it is inevitable. It is natural for man to try to discover reasons for what he sees, although he can only reach tentative conclusions which he is not to impose on others. After Dr. Dale in his work on the atonement has dwelt elaborately on the difference between fact and theory, in his final chapters

he embarks on a search for outlines of a theory of his own. The Church has contented itself with the revealed fact and left questions of mode and reason to individual inquiry. Mr. Macdonnell has engaged in a similar quest with great advantage. The subject is a noble one. Its aim, in Dr. Orr's words, is 'to find spiritual laws which will make the atonement itself intelligible, and to find spiritual laws which connect the atonement with the new life which springs from it.' Here are themes which angels may desire to look into and on which, some one has said, we may be their fellow students.

The brief last chapter of the Donnellan Lecture is weighty with suggestiveness and appeals powerfully to thoughtful minds. Its title is 'The Relation of the Atonement to God's Moral Government and Man's Moral Nature,' a subject quite in the spirit of Butler's reasoning. The text which fitly heads the chapter is Paul's philosophy of redemption, Rom. iii. 21-26. There is some fine analysis of the Scripture ideas of holiness, justice, righteousness. The strongest general argument for the old doctrine of atonement is that it gives equally great recognition to the attributes of justice and love. Both St. Paul and St. John emphasize this point. 'Just and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus,' i. e. just in the very act of justifying the sinner. This is seen in forgiveness through atonement, but not in simple forgiveness. It is noteworthy that the apostle recognizes the distinct claim of righteousness; he does not merge it in mercy. St. John says, 'Faithful and just to forgive.' We might have expected him to say, 'Faithful and merciful,' which would have been true. Again, we say forgiveness on the ground of atonement explains John's phraseology. We cannot conceive that justice or righteousness as a distinct attribute is abolished in the gospel. It is surely increased in stringency. The world cannot do without it. We may almost say that the supersession of righteousness is more the ideal of the elect

saints. The Christian emphasis on righteousness is in the interest of the highest ethics. In Rom. iii. 25 Paul intimates that 'the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God' rendered a special assertion of divine righteousness necessary. Without it that righteousness might have been called in question. Socinian and other impugnors of the need of sacrifice feel compelled to do all in their power to explain away or weaken the idea of justice in God. Ritschl explains it as God's consistency in carrying out His purpose of love, i. e. it is a mode of love. St. John says much of God's love, yet he declares God to be 'faithful and just' in forgiving.

In the same way forgiveness through atonement recognizes to the full the gravity of sin, whereas the denial of atonement necessitates the minimizing of sin. The Scripture doctrine of sin is borne out by the facts of life. When everything has been said about heredity, weak character, evil training, strong temptation, the amount and the evil of sin remain terrible. A quick conscience is not easily argued out of the sense of guilt. Everything which keeps the sense of responsibility keen and strong is needed in the battle with the world's evil. Everything of an opposite nature gives the lie to conscience and the best instincts of the heart. There can be no question as to what belief in the atonement has done to keep alive the sense of sin in the world. It is this conviction of sin which has given rise to all the great religions of the world and especially to the widespread custom of sacrifice in order to forgiveness. The two beliefs have been held together. There is no need to dwell upon the penances and austerities to which the one belief has driven men. The same facts prove the belief in the existence of mercy in God. Archbishop Thomson says, 'Never has the mind of man, driven to construct a worship from its natural resources, invented a religion of despair.' It is easy to see what support such facts give to the doctrine of atonement. 'The two opposing

impulses of our higher nature find their satisfaction in the atonement, and in it alone; because it recognizes the righteous claim of a violated law, and at the same time the boundless mercy of a loving God. Conscience is not blunted or outraged; because the expiation confirms its testimony to the guilt of sin, and the tremendous punishment which it deserved; and yet all our desires of happiness and communion with God are satisfied by the "exceeding riches of His grace." The appeal to experience also is a strong one—the conscience appeased, the communion with God restored, the new character created on an unprecedented scale.

The present writer wishes also to commend another old writer of the same cast and calibre as the Donnellan Lecture—a volume of the old series of Congregational Lectures by the Rev. Joseph Gilbert, *The Christian Atonement*. Personal interest attaches to this work. The author was the husband of Ann Taylor, who again was the sister of Jane Taylor and the still more famous Isaac Taylor, the author of *Saturday Evening* and other great works. Mr. Gilbert's treatise discusses even more thoroughly than the one which has engaged our attention the philosophical aspects of atonement and the difficulties raised on philosophical grounds. A quotation from Mrs. Gilbert's *Memorials*, a delightful book edited by her husband, will further illustrate points already noticed. 'The argument seeks on the one hand to deliver the doctrine of substitution from the crude and rash modes of statement which have given ground for much objection; and on the other to establish it in the light of first principles and in relation to the practical ends to be attained. "Substitution is a substitute for penalty, an adequate expression of the divine disapproval of sin some other way." And if it be asked, To whom is the atonement made? the answer is, For the interest of creatures it is that the sacrifice is made; and to them virtually, but yet only as represented by the Supreme

executive power, is the price of atonement paid. Thus it is rationally and clearly consistent to say that Christ as a sacrifice was offered up both to God and by God.' The doctrine is often criticized as too forensic, but the forensic element is purged of all defect, and we have yet to learn that moral law in its forms and sanctions is unworthy of God or man.

The teaching against which both Mr. Macdonnell and Mr. Gilbert contended was that of the Broad Church School represented by Jowett and Maurice, whose names often occur in the two works. In substance that teaching is accepted in different forms by rationalists of every shade. The notes in the first work supply further illustrations of the text in great abundance. While thankful for modern defences of the atonement more or less complete, we cannot dispense with old expositors of this foundation-truth of the gospel. The best in the new is taken from the old writers.

J. S. BANKS.

Notes and Discussions

MORE LIGHT FROM NIPPUR

GOOD progress is being made with the great series of volumes, in which the University of Pennsylvania is publishing under the editorship of Dr. H. V. Hilprecht the documents unearthed at Nippur and elsewhere. Three substantial parts have recently been issued; and the contents will be found to be not only of much interest but doubly valuable, as throwing light upon a great civilization of the past, and as illustrating our own sacred books in an increasing number of details. They contain Sumerian administrative documents belonging to the period of the second dynasty of Ur in the twenty-fourth century before Christ, Babylonian documents of a similar type from the time of Hammurabi and his immediate predecessors and successors, and a collection of Sumerian hymns and prayers in which devotion can be seen in some of its primitive expressions, and parallels can be traced with the phraseology of even the New Testament.

Historically, these tablets supply a number of new year-dates, and an almost complete list may now be formed for a century and a half after the accession of Hammurabi. These dates characterize the years by a memorable event, as in the instance quoted by Johns, 'the year in which Hammurabi the king established the heart of the land in righteousness,' or, 'the year in which the canal of Samsuiluna was dug.' There is a strong disposition to identify Hammurabi with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv. 1; and supporters of that view will be disappointed that no year-date has yet been discovered, commemorating the invasion of Palestine by that king in alliance with Chedorlaomer and others. The identification, if rendered more problematical, cannot yet be regarded as disproved, for there are many more tablets to be deciphered; and, in any case, it would be possible to argue that the expedition took place before Hammurabi actually ascended the throne, and thus to account for the superiority of rank assigned in the verses following to one of the allied kings. The names may be confidently regarded as historical; but so far, the monumental evidence of identification is inconclusive, and, on the whole, is weakened still further by the silence of these documents.

In administrative memoranda two of these collections are very rich. Business transactions of a variety of kinds are recorded, and the legal documents deal with official precision with a number of ordinary relationships. Here are offers to sell, covenants to buy, confirmations of the engagement; inventories and accounts; reminders and receipts; promissory notes and acquittances; leases and redemptions; bonds of adoption, of manumission, and of marriage. On every page are evidences not only of a busy life, but of one well and regularly ordered, with a general

recognition of social rights and obligations and a powerful central authority capable of enforcing contracts. The records of the law-courts give the names of the witnesses, and sometimes note the submission, if not the depositions, of the defendant. Slaves are pledged to obedience by an oath, and the bail of sureties is accepted for their good behaviour. The earliest Sumerian laws of divorce were framed upon the opposite system to that which begins with an assertion of the equality of the sexes. The husband could divorce his wife by mere repudiation with the present of thirty shekels of silver; but if a wife repudiated her husband, the punishment was death. Here is a marriage contract of a much more equitable kind. If for any reason the husband wished to divorce his wife, he covenanted to return her dowry with the addition of thirty shekels; and if the proceedings were initiated by the wife, she forfeited her dowry with a like fine for the solace of her husband. Modern jurisprudence is still fairer in its calculations of alimony; but it is obvious how in this ancient civilization men were struggling towards the discovery and enforcement of principles of natural right.

The third of these publications is edited by Dr. H. Radau, and is really a book of devotions compiled from material found in the temple library of Nippur. They are addressed to the mysterious god Ninib, concerning the very reading of whose name there is still some difference of opinion. We know that his cult was particularly favoured by the founder of the dynasty of Ur, who built a great temple in his honour about the beginning of the twenty-fifth century before Christ; but until now his place in the pantheon and his relations to the other gods were matters of speculation. It appears that he was to Ur what Merodach afterwards became to Babylon, and was worshipped as the supreme patron god of the city and people. He is invoked as the protector of the land, and prayers are addressed to him that the righteous should not be oppressed by the ungodly, that the canals should be made to flow with fullness and the arid fields be covered with crops. If there were nothing more, we should have obtained only another instance of the prevalence of a kind of henotheism, in which room was left for the inferior activities of other gods. But unexpected complications are introduced. Ninib is the royal son, whose father is said in one invocation to have exalted him above himself, and in another, to have been caused 'to bow down the face to him from afar, when he sat on the throne in the royal chamber.' The similarity of the conception to one current in primitive Greece is obvious, and the periods are sufficiently contemporaneous. One wonders what was the actual line of passage from east to west which this common idea took of domestic rivalry among the gods, and the compulsory abrogation of the father in favour of the son. As excavation proceeds, tablets may be unearthed that will enable that question to be answered; but the time is not yet.

One of these hymns to the praise of Ninib contains a phrase which immediately arrests attention. Dr. Radau translates the passage: 'The mighty waters with stones he has conquered; now the waters, though from Hades, against the rock of ages could not prevail.' The

translator himself notes how the rendering recalls the familiar words, 'Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.' Yet there is no reason to suppose that a conflate reminiscence of St. Matthew and Toplady has vitiated the translation. The actual word used has generally hitherto been taken in the sense of 'mountain,' but 'cliff,' or 'rock' is quite admissible. Consequently, the comparison of God in stability with the everlasting hills, or with the massive rock against which the waters break only to be beaten back in spray, is earlier than Isaiah or the earliest of the Psalms, or than any of the documents incorporated in the Old Testament. And when the worshipper to-day yearns for the saving grace of God in the language of Toplady's famous hymn, he is blending expressions that can be found in the ancient and almost prehistoric devotions of the race with hopes which only the death of the Redeemer has made sure. Everywhere the religious instinct feels after God, and finds the security of His throne and promises, though for the double cure of sin the blood from the riven side and the water from the cleft rock are needed. Not the sovereignty of God alone is pledged, but the salvation of the sinner who prays, 'Lead me to the rock that is higher than I.'

R. WADDY MOSS.

NATURAL CHRISTIANITY

THE Dean of Ripon has written a little volume with this title, which appears in Messrs. Harper's *Library of Living Thought* (2s. 6d. net). Its appeal is to convinced and enthusiastic disciples of Christ who regard Him as the Supreme Lord of their own conscience and of all human life. The dean's aim is to expand 'the object of Christian endeavour so as to take in the universal good of mankind, and to recognize the Christian standard of goodness in every effort by which the human race is being raised.' He hopes thus to give a fuller meaning to the conception of the Church as being the complete society of mankind 'imbued and inspired with the indwelling of God and of Christ.' Such a position makes Dean Fremantle jealous of everything that savours of narrowness. His view is that questions about 'Church government must be solved in the natural way by reference to what is demanded by the circumstances in which God has placed us. . . . The episcopate was formed gradually to meet special needs, different in different places, but gradually growing to uniformity. It is pre-eminently natural, since every body of persons acting together must have one head. In this sense it is divine; but this is the divinity which permeates society, and gives us (in their proper sense) the divine right of kings, of parents, of magistrates, of tax-gatherers.' If we speak of episcopacy thus, we 'must gladly admit the principle (even if, we may think, in diminished potency) in the Presbyterian or Congregational systems, in the persons of moderators or presidents, or the recognized heads of bodies of worshippers.' He recognizes that the laity have not had their due share in the management of the work of the Anglican Church. 'The clerical

autocracy which has been allowed to alienate one class after another . . . has gone far to reduce the Church of England to a clericalist sect.' The dean holds strongly that the utmost extension that is possible should be given to the boundaries of the National Church, and that the claim of those who belong to other churches to be admitted to the Lord's Table without confirmation should be readily allowed. Some of the signs of our times are disquieting. 'Public worship is not so well attended; the Bible is not so much read. There are probably many reasons for this, and we need not attribute it to a lessened interest in religion; certainly the manner and extent in which religion is discussed in the Press, and the activity both in foreign missions and in social progress which is common to all the divisions of religionists, would lead to the conclusion that that interest was on the increase.' The indifference or alienation caused by the criticism of the Bible or of the Church system will pass away. There has already been 'a marked return from mere criticism and scepticism to the Bible and to Christ.' 'The Higher Criticism has of late in Germany led men back in many cases to traditional views.' The deepest thought has always returned to Christ, and such a return we are now witnessing, not only in our own country and America, but also in France and Germany.

The danger of such a scheme of comprehension as the dean suggests is obvious. He seems to minimize many points of difference in order to uphold his view that the nation is the Church of Christ. We may be glad to look over the hedge and gain a view of Comtist and Agnostic which suggests that they will return by-and-by to the Christian pale, but it is better to let them stay where they are till they accept fuller light. M. Comte held that of such a force as we call God nothing could be known, and though he regarded the world as ruled by the heart of man, and though the humanity, which he spoke of as God, was essentially love, his position was far removed from ours. Herbert Spencer acknowledged himself as 'ever in presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed,' and Prof. Huxley admitted that if this were what is meant by God, 'he would be a fool who, even in his heart, denied its existence.'

'Natural Christianity,' according to the dean, recognizes Christ as the Saviour of the world and the Light which lighteth every man coming into the world. All this thoughtful readers of the Gospels have long acknowledged. Such a fact opens a great door to the Christian worker both at home and abroad. The dean says, 'If Christ is in every man and in all history and all knowledge, if the conscience of each man is the organ of the Holy Ghost, then we must believe that all honest teaching and all attempts to impart good principles are, as we may say, Christianity in its lower grades; and if, as we see to be the fact, the moral atmosphere of a Christian country, its literature and its public opinion, is very largely saturated with Christian ideas, we may believe that the lower grade will be a step upwards towards the higher. There can be ultimately but one moral standard, and it is that which is furnished to us by the Cross of Christ.' The great object to keep in view is 'the regeneration of the whole life of mankind by the infusing into it of the Spirit of Christ.'

'Our sectarianism is of our own invention,' the dean holds. We cannot altogether accept that position. It may justly be argued that Providence has led various Christian communities to take their stand in defence of some truth or practice which was in danger of being ignored or lost by other churches, but this should not prevent our regarding each other as brethren and labouring to realize the ends for which the brotherhood exists. 'To love Christ, to own His Spirit to be supreme, to exert an influence over men in His name—it is this which makes the Christian.' Some artificial barriers between the churches might now be removed with the happiest results, for we only need to know each other better to feel our true oneness in Christ. 'If all penalties for intercommunion were removed, the way, it seems, would be open for a complete religious peace.' Meanwhile the dean asks whether Christian men cannot find a basis of fellowship by blending all their efforts to sanctify the life of the community.

Many controversial points are discussed in the dean's large-hearted and broad-minded little volume. It covers much of the domain of theology as well as of practical religious life. Here and there it seems perilously broad, and we feel that too high a price may be paid for comprehension; but there is such loyalty to Christ, such intense desire for the spread of His Kingdom and the massing together of all the forces that might help on the victory of truth and holy living, that we have found the book inspiring and stimulating. Certainly every one who studies it will gain a larger vision of the power of the Church as the leaven in human society. 'Christianity, being divine and supreme, must assert and work out its sovereign position by blending with human life, and with the developments of the whole system of nature which God has made.'

JOHN TELFORD.

HERO-WORSHIP IN INDIA

A VERSE from Matthew Arnold's 'Obermann' is very often quoted by writers on India—

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again—

but they do not often quote a verse which follows soon after in the same poem—

Poor, sinful world, so deep accurst,
That runn'at from pole to pole,
To seek a draught to slake thy thirst—
Go seek it in thy soul!

The former verse serves conveniently as a text for the discourse which some writers on India preach, that there is no possibility of a common ground or understanding between the Englishman and the Indian, and that English civilization and rule will presently pass away and 'leave not

a rack behind.' The latter verse, however, suggests that there is a common ground, the ground which is common to East and West—religion. The question of religion may be ignored in dealing with many topics, but it cannot be ignored in dealing with India. In East and West alike man is a worshipping animal. Without something above him to worship, he is like an insect on the edge of a stone, waving its antennae feebly in the air. The more devout an Englishman is the better he will understand India. None understood it better than those great Englishmen who were called the 'Ironsides of the Panjab,' the Lawrences, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and John Nicholson. One sect of faqirs chose John Nicholson for their Guru or patron saint, and insisted on worshipping him, though he beat and imprisoned them. After his death at Delhi one of them actually pined away and died.

Nor is this hero-worship of a great Englishman by the natives merely a thing of the past. In the *Royal Asiatic Journal* for 1907 Mr. J. Kennedy says regarding the late Salmon Growse, who died in 1898, 'The people of Mathura regarded him as a white Guru (religious leader); at his bidding both in Mathura and Bulandshahr, men expended thousands of rupees upon public objects, when to others they would have grudged ten; and his influence far surpassed that of any other living European, whatever his position. And although many other things contributed to this influence, the basis of it lay in the fact that, devout himself, he sympathized with the devotion and art of both Hindu and Mohammedan.'

In answer to those who hope that Christianity may eventually prove a unifying factor between India and England, Mr. Meredith Townsend, in his book *Europe and Asia*, maintains that the Christian Ideal is too mild and tame to appeal to the Oriental, who desires something more of the type of a conquering hero. But it may be fairly said in reply, 'How is it that, in the scriptures of both Mohammedans and Hindus, both in the Koran and the Ramayana, for instance, patience and humility, the distinctive Christian virtues, are specially singled out for commendation? The Koran goes so far as to say, "You will find the Christians to be your best friends, because they have priests and monks and are not proud," and "God is with the patient." While in the Ramayana of Tulsi Das, the vernacular Bible of ninety millions of Hindus, Rama is represented as becoming incarnate on purpose to help mankind: "Hearken, O dull of soul," concludes the epic, "is there any creature who has worshipped Rama, the purifier of the fallen, and not found salvation?"'

'The wretches whom He has redeemed are countless, such as the harlot Pingala and Ajamil. An Abhir, a foreigner, a Kirat, a Khasia, or an outcast, embodiments of pollution as they are, are purified, if they but once repeat the name "O Rama, I adore Thee." Rama alone is all beautiful, all wise, full of compassion and of lovingkindness for the destitute; disinterested in his benevolence and the bestower of final deliverance; whom else can I desire? There is no other lord like Rama, by whose favour, however slight, even I, the dull-witted Tulsi Das, have found perfect peace.'

The Vaishnavas or worshippers of Rama, in opposition to the cold

intellectualism of the pantheistic Vedantists, lay great stress on 'Bhakti' or faith, much in the same way as Luther did. Mr. G. A. Grierson, in several articles in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, has demonstrated that the Bhakti doctrines have been deeply influenced by the early Christianity of South India. 'All other religions,' says a writer in the *Hindu Spiritual Magazine*, December 1910, 'worship the power of God, while the Vaishnavas ignore His power, and seek Him through His sweetness and loveliness. Vaishnavism is likely to prove irresistible to all men who are sincere and have a real hankering in their hearts for Divine worship.'

The intense devotion which the Vaishnavas feel for Rama is merely another proof that, East and West alike, the greatest moulding force is a great Personality. In the former days of the British Raj great personalities, especially in the army, had free play. They remained long years in the country and won not only the loyalty, but, as in Nicholson's and Sir Henry Lawrence's case, the devotion of the natives. The almost universal complaint now is, that natives are not brought sufficiently into personal relations to their rulers, but are governed too much by red tape and machinery. In the army, however, and especially on the Frontier, Sikhs and Pathans are devoted to their officers, and ready, on occasion, to die for them. Striking instances of this 'faithfulness to their salt' are given by Colonel Younghusband in his *Story of the Guides*. There, among others, we are told of Dilawar Khan, a wild Afghan brigand, captured by the influence of Colonel Lumsden and metamorphosed into a loyal subadar, whose last words as he lay dying in the snow in Chitral, whither he had been dispatched on a political mission, were 'Tell the "Sirkar" (Government) I am glad to die in their service.' But for Colonel Lumsden's influence, Dilawar Khan would very likely have ended his days on the scaffold.

The importance which the natives attach to personality was seen, as Sir Bampfylde Fuller points out in his *Studies in Indian Life and Sentiment*, in the great loyalty felt by millions of natives towards Queen Victoria, of whom most of them knew nothing more than the name. But she was a Person, and embodied the idea of the British Raj in a way that appealed strongly to them. They recognized gratefully her sympathy shown in comparatively trivial acts, such as her learning Hindustani in order the better to understand her Indian subjects. From this point of view the coming visit of King George to India is of the greatest importance. 'One crowned head,' says an Indian proverb, 'is equal to ten Brahmins,' and his presence in person will draw like sparks from flint the devotion latent in many dusky millions :

Thus are men made, notwithstanding ; such magnetic virtue darts
From each head their fancy haloes to their unresisting hearts.

C. FIELD,

MEDICINE AND THE CHURCH¹

THIS book consists of a series of papers by various writers, among whom are such distinguished members of the medical profession as Sir T. Clifford Allbutt, Dr. Charles Buttar, Dr. T. B. Hyslop, Mr. Stephen Paget and others. With these are associated such well-known ecclesiastics as the Bishop of Winchester, the Rev. A. W. Robinson, D.D., Prebendary Fausset, and the Bishop of Bloemfontein.

The object of the volume is to give the reading public an opportunity of knowing what is in the mind of representative authorities with regard to the mutual relations of science and the Church to the treatment of disease. Eddyism is in the air. All sections of society have been more or less affected by it, and its influence in ecclesiastical circles is shown by a growing disposition to revive some of the old ceremonial methods of religious ministration to the sick. Many have been asking how far—if at all—this disposition ought to be encouraged, and such an expression of opinion as that which we have here has been very much desired.

The several writers do not look at the subject from the same standpoint, nor do they in every case come to the same conclusion: but it is perfectly clear on which side lies the weight of evidence, and all who are interested in the question should read this frank and convincing discussion of it.

Incidentally we learn how ill-founded are many of the much-talked-of cases of faith-healing, and to how great an extent—unintentionally we would fain believe, through lack of scientific training and instincts—fiction enters into the reports of faith-healing societies. It is almost impossible to obtain from the officials of these societies any satisfactory evidential data, and when these have been supplied the cases have invariably, upon investigation, broken down. There is a well-known story of a high dignitary of the Church having been cured by a faith-healer of what a great surgeon is reported to have pronounced incurable cancer. The surgeon referred to denies having made any such pronouncement, or having found anything seriously the matter with the patient. But in spite of this repudiation the story is still in circulation as gospel truth.

The resultant effect of the opinions here expressed is to discredit and discourage all attempts at combating disease by ceremonial, either in the form of sacrament or of anointing with consecrated oil; and, in spite of recent endeavours to resuscitate it, we may expect that ere long 'psychic' or 'spiritual healing' will, as a cult, take its place with 'touching' for 'king's evil,' and other superstitions, among the curiosities of history.

But disease is not altogether a physical condition. Whether as cause or effect the mind is generally to some extent involved, and so there must be potentialities of healing apart from drugs and operations. When, for

¹ A series of studies on the relationship between the practice of medicine and the Church's ministry to the sick. Edited, with an introduction, by Geoffrey Rhodes. Kegan Paul & Co.

instance, the morbid condition is due to intemperance or other forms of loose living, the counsels of the Church are obviously of great importance, and in every form of disease the dispositions created by religion are conducive to recovery.

Emphatic testimony is borne to the relation between faith in God and the response of the constitution of a patient to the remedies prescribed by his physician. It has been often said that certain forms of mental derangement are the result of religious excitement, but it is shown that if such cases exist they are far rarer than is supposed, and there is abundant evidence to prove that in many ways religion lessens the liability to become insane. Anything which enheartens a patient and allays his anxiety of mind tends to make his case more hopeful. Religion more than anything else has power to do this. Dr. Hyslop says that 'of all the hygienic measures to counteract disturbed sleep, depression of spirits, and all the miserable sequelae of a distraught mind, he would undoubtedly give the first place to the simple habit of prayer.'

The sphere of the Church in the treatment of disease is, then, much more restricted than some churchmen have supposed, but it is, nevertheless, very important. In the case of some neurotics it may assist the work of healing by making the patient forget his imaginary ailments. By what it does to improve the morals of another it may help to restore his health. And, generally, by doing what can be done to cheer and comfort the patient, to keep up his spirits, and to induce quiet submission to the will of God, it will be rendering a service which every broad-minded doctor will appreciate.

The standpoint of the book is exclusively Anglican, and here and there the argument is weakened by the fallacy of regarding the healing function of the Church as institutional rather than religious. The ultimate forces which overcome disease must be cosmic forces, and it is incredible that these should be harnessed to an institution, however venerable and sacred. The suggestion of the desirability of confining to the clergy of the Anglican communion recognized religious ministrations to the sick is supported by a quotation which reminds one of an official notice at the *mairie* of a little town in the interior of France—'*Défense à Dieu de faire des miracles en cet lieu.*'

If Anglican clergy have the power of assisting the doctor in the way indicated, that power is surely due, not to their office, but to their goodness; and, other things being equal, an ordinary layman with the same goodness would do as well.

One of the best-written chapters in the book is that of Mr. Stephen Paget. His concluding words should be taken to heart both by doctors and clergy. 'It is a great pity that the work of the cleric and the work of the doctor should ever clash. Only, if they are to be friends in ministering to the sick and dying, they must be friends always. If the doctor makes stupid jokes against religion, and the cleric doses his parishioners with quack medicines: if the doctor is dull to the wonders of faith, and the cleric is dull to the wonders of science: if neither has the grace to recognize and honour and openly praise the good works of the other—

how shall they adjust themselves, in the presence of impending death, who thus waste the opportunities of daily life ?'

CHARLES WENYON.

RELIGION IN GERMANY—AN IMPRESSION

GERMANY presents the strange spectacle of a country with no religious enthusiasms, yet marching in the van of theological science. It presents perhaps the still stranger spectacle of a country remarkable for its insistence on order and discipline in matters of practice and for its licence and unconventionality in matters of theory—with the exception, that is to say, of political theory. On Sunday one may sit in a typical German church, well cared for but half empty in spite of its modest demands on the time of the worshippers, and listen to the windy eloquence and conventional theology of the well-appointed pastor, whom a paternal State urges to memorize his discourse; and go next morning to hear one university professor lecturing to a full room on the mythical character of the whole Bible, and another propounding theological theories which would be considered almost revolutionary in England, both being listened to with the utmost composure and kindly tolerance. The Church as a visible body seems more dead than alive, with very few collective activities and a scarcity of missionary enthusiasm. I cannot help thinking that the children's service, which Sir Harry Johnston commended so highly in a recent *Westminster Gazette* article on his Sunday in Berlin, was of an exceptional character. The church was full, he says, and the children looked eager and expectant. He goes on to tell how he learned that the children's Sunday would probably be spent in successive visits to the Zoological Gardens, the children's service, a cinematograph exhibition and a theatre. This Sunday programme is perhaps more typical of Germany than the crowded church; indeed, the German way of keeping Sunday seems to some people hardly consonant with a strong Church life.

It is difficult not to connect this condition of the Church with its close relation to the State and natural subservience to a somewhat aristocratic and high-handed government, and with the fact—which I believe to be true—that you cannot find a single pastor who supports the social democratic party, to which something like a third of the working population of the country belongs. I for one cannot find it strange that the Church has no hold on the people. There is now, of course, a movement of rapprochement led by a few influential men who are active churchmen and at the same time zealous radicals, and can sympathize with the popular movement even if they cannot entirely support it. Driven from her stronghold, the Church, religion has lost some of her prestige and has been supplanted in the regard of many by her handmaid, theology. In fact the two have been sadly confused; and some will say that in her mania for specializing, Germany has specialized her religion till it has become a dry science, which is allowed full liberty just because it is no longer part of life,

This is of course not true; it is only theology and philosophy which have been so specialized, and religion, unrecognized by many, has still her humble home in the highways and by-ways of life. The seriousness and thoughtfulness, the idealism, so characteristic of this people, are almost religious in themselves, and are certainly guarantees of the prevalence of religion. I think what strikes one most in the intelligent youth of Germany as compared with that of England is the single-minded, whole-hearted seriousness with which they take life. This is no doubt due in part to their lack of humour as an element of their 'lebensanschauung'; but there is something very arresting and attractive in their attitude, something too which seems to hold good promise for the future. Germany is religious in exactly the same way as its beloved national poet, Schiller, was religious, and if ever Hebraism lurked under a thin disguise of Hellenism it was in Schiller. In his recent lecture on Schiller's religion before the Berlin Weltkongress, Herr Privatdozent Bornhausen says: 'We may call Schiller's religion strong, unconscious piety. . . . The most costly achievements of German seriousness, won through moral self-discipline and self-conquest, are found in Schiller'; and again, his 'solemnity, moral force, and noble hope speak the language of faith.' And Schiller is profoundly typical of his nation. In Germany a man will have the most advanced of views, and speak at political demonstrations on Sunday, and go to church with the utmost irregularity, and yet the evening hymn and prayer in his house every night will have the most wonderful simple and quiet reverence about it, very restful, with something of a Quaker atmosphere perhaps, but simpler. I hope I shall never forget the sweet childlikeness and humility of one such. In prayer he dropped at once into a childlike, almost brokenly childlike way of speaking, using only the simplest and fewest words. It was a marvellous way of making us all share the prayer, and there was nothing to disagree with. It must have been his way of escaping the endless dilemmas and 'finesses' of expression into which his philosophy might have led him. German piety, however elaborate its theology, instinctively clings to the simplicity of Luther. One may have very pleasant and hopeful thoughts of Germany.

M. T. REES.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Christ of the Gospels. By Rev. W. W. Holdsworth, M.A. (Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

THE author of the forty-first Fernley Lecture has chosen a fine theme, albeit one that would furnish matter for more than forty lectures. It is, moreover, most timely, for no biblical subject is more discussed at the moment than the composition of the Four Gospels, their mutual relations, and the measure of historical truth which they severally contain. We congratulate Prof. Holdsworth upon the thorough way in which, within the necessary limits prescribed to him, he has expounded a large and difficult topic, upon the ability with which he pursues a complex argument, and the earnestness with which at the close he points the moral and practical issues of the whole discussion.

The book is divided into seven chapters. After an introduction dealing with the methods of modern criticism, the lecturer sets forth the Christology of the New Testament in the three types represented by the Epistle to the Hebrews, St. Paul and St. Peter. He then asks whether the Gospels support the interpretation of the Person of Christ thus set forth in the Apostolic Church. A long chapter then describes in detail the Gospel record—the Marcan element, the Matthaean Logia, the special sources of St. Luke and the Johannine supplement. The next three chapters discuss 'the Synoptic Jesus,' the 'Johannine Christ,' and the higher synthesis represented by the composite name, Jesus Christ. The last chapter, entitled 'The Gospel Message,' shows how important for the ends of practical religion is a true doctrine of Incarnation. Christian faith demands for its reasonable exercise both 'Jesus' and 'Christ,' and the fellowship with God revealed and attained in and through Jesus Christ our Lord is, and must remain, the sum and substance of the gospel.

This brief outline gives of course very little idea of the contents of the book, but it may serve to indicate its scope and method. Mr. Holdsworth has read widely and well. These pages testify to his power of assimilating and using the theological works, mostly modern, which he freely quotes. But he chooses and follows his own course, not bound slavishly to follow any master. Du Bose is, if we may judge, the contemporary with whom he has most sympathy, but critics of all schools are cited, some to support his argument, others that their criticism may be itself criticized. Mr. Holdsworth's views on the subject of the Synoptic Gospels are in the main those generally accepted, while we observe that he regards with favour Dr. Arthur Wright's theory of a threefold edition of St. Mark and his analysis

of the sources of St. Luke's Gospel is very interesting and suggestive. Of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel he says, 'If the apostolic authorship has its difficulties, every other theory yet advanced has greater difficulties still.'

The theological side of the volume is quite as important as the critical. Mr. Holdsworth shows how misleading is the alternative presented by the familiar question, 'Jesus or Christ?' He criticizes the eschatological theory put forward by Schweitzer because it professes to be an adequate interpretation of a message in which it is at best an important element, and he shows—what some presumably orthodox critics do not seem to have perceived—that Schweitzer's theory is really an attack upon Christianity and the central figure of its Founder. Mr. Holdsworth indicates three methods of approach to a right study of the Person of Christ—the historical, the philosophical, and the experimental. He places the last first, but shows how necessary the other two are to a full interpretation of so great and vital a theme. Beginning with experience, he says, philosophy may be used to explain the problem of the Incarnation and history will verify our conclusions.

'This method is that which first obtained in the Christian Church. It was along these lines that the Church advanced in thought to the position which she now holds. First came the quickening contact with the risen and ascended Christ through the gift and the continued ministry of the Holy Spirit, then followed the interpretation of the experience so gained, and finally the verification of both in the gospel history' (pp. 217, 218).

Mr. Holdsworth's thoughtful and suggestive lecture deserves a fuller description and comment than we are able here to give. His volume helps to maintain the high standard set up by the best of his predecessors. It exhibits deep spiritual insight as well as notable critical skill, and will form a contribution of importance and value, not only to the literature of the Church to which he belongs, but to the wider theological literature of the day on one of the most important subjects which can engage its attention.

The Holy Spirit in Faith and Experience. By A. Lewis Humphries, M.A. (Hammond. 2s. 6d. net.)

It is invidious, and rightly speaking impossible, to compare the lectures which appear successively on a common foundation. It is to the credit of the 'Hartley Lectureship' in the Primitive Methodist Church that though only a recent institution it has produced many lectures of great value, but in some respects it may be said that the last is the best of them all. Prof. Humphries, of the Hartley College, Manchester, has in the volume before us handled a subject the growing importance of which is being felt in very various quarters, and as he himself says, 'there is no dearth of books on the Holy Spirit.' His own, as he would be the first to acknowledge, is neither complete nor final, nor would any sane critic expect it to be either. But it is careful, scholarly, systematic, and covers a wide area with ability and power. Mr. Humphries tells us in his Preface that he has aimed at

making his work critical in its character, wide in its scope and more or less psychological in its method. He has made good his own words, and readers will find the book sufficiently abreast of modern thought and truly catholic in its outlook and aims.

The writer begins with a survey, extending over a hundred pages, in which he includes the Old Testament and non-canonical writings, and exhibits the doctrine of the Spirit in Pre-Christian times. The latter part of the book deals with the New Testament under such headings as these—the Spirit in Jesus, the Inner Meaning of Pentecost, Spiritual Gifts, The Spirit and the Christian Life, Problems and Duties. Few aspects of a wide and various subject are neglected, whilst the treatment, especially in some parts, is of necessity slight and sketchy. The difference between the standpoint of the Old and the New Testament is clearly shown, and in the remarks on prophecy and inspiration Mr. Humphries may be said to follow the lead—for they have founded no 'school'—of Riehm and A. B. Davidson. One of the best chapters in the book is that on 'The Inner Meaning of Pentecost,' in which the writer seeks to explain, largely on what would be called 'natural' grounds, the immense access of power associated with that visitation. His illustrations from other fields of history are interesting, whilst he shows that all preparation of the fuel was utterly ineffective without the Divine spark from above.

The investigation into 'The Spirit and the Christian Life' does full justice to what may be called the Methodist aspects of the subject, whilst they are not brought into undue prominence. The subject of the Personality of the Holy Spirit is not forgotten, whilst we could have wished that a fuller treatment of it had been found possible. The passage on p. 356 is brief and inadequate. But Prof. Humphries rightly says that the settlement of speculative problems does not constitute our main obligation to the Holy Spirit of God. Experience came before speculation, and it will be a poor day for the Church of Christ should speculation ever overlay and stifle experience. We agree with Mr. Humphries that 'for our own religious well-being, as well as for the sake of our witness to the world, there is nothing more urgently needed than that we should revive those spacious days of the Spirit' that are described in the New Testament. The thirteenth Hartley Lecture, like the first Fernley Lecture, is well devoted to the great object of promoting this end—a prime necessity of all the Churches.

Mysticism : A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness. By Evelyn Underhill. (Methuen & Co. 15s. net.)

On every side there are signs of the revival of interest in Mysticism. Miss Underhill's elaborate study will help to clear up many vague notions concerning 'the science and art of the spiritual life.' She leaves her readers in no doubt as to the meaning which she gives to a much misunderstood term. 'Mysticism is not an opinion: it is not a philosophy. It has nothing in common with the pursuit of occult knowledge. It is not merely the

power of contemplating Eternity. . . . It is the achievement here and now of the immortal heritage of man. . . . It is the art of establishing his conscious relation with the Absolute.' The characteristics of Mysticism, as stated by Miss Underhill, are far more satisfying than William James's 'four marks' of the mystic state, Ineffability, Noetic Quality, Transiency and Passivity. To summarize an admirable chapter: Mysticism is (1) practical, not theoretical; (2) an entirely spiritual activity; (3) its business and method is Love; (4) it entails a definite psychological experience; (5) it is never self-seeking.

The two parts into which this work is divided are entitled respectively 'The Mystic Fact' and 'The Mystic Way.' Part I. is really a general introduction to the subject, exhibiting it by turns from the point of view of vitalism, psychology, symbolism, magic and theology. Theology is regarded as 'the Mystic's map' and Christianity provides 'the best of such maps.'

In a fine passage Miss Underhill shows that 'the Christian system, or some colourable imitation of it, has been found essential by all the great mystics of the West.' On the doctrine of the Incarnation she has a firmer hold than on the New Testament teaching concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in man. Hence, in the second part of her work—which is entirely psychological and often most helpful and suggestive—conversion is said always to entail 'the abrupt or gradual emergence of intuitions from below the threshold of consciousness.' For lack of due recognition of the enlightening, convicting, and converting grace of the Divine Spirit, this and similar statements are too subjective to account satisfactorily for Christian experience. Conversion is more than 'the first emergence of the genius for the Absolute'; it cannot be explained apart from the Holy Spirit whose work in us enables us both to will and to work. With Miss Underhill's contention that theology must listen to the voice of psychology we are, however, in complete sympathy. Her study of Mysticism from this point of view will repay the most careful attention. All who read this book will close it with deep gratitude. It is much to see that up and down 'the Ladder of Contemplation,' which 'stretches without a break from earth to the Empyrean,' the ministers of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty are continually passing; it is more to learn afresh that this Ladder 'leans against the Cross,' and therefore 'leads to the Secret Rose.'

The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East. Manual of Biblical Archaeology. By Alfred Jeremias. English edition translated by C. L. Beaumont. Edited by Rev. Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D. 2 vols. (Williams & Norgate. 25s. net.)

Canon Johns, in a brief Introduction, shows what light recent Oriental exploration has thrown upon biblical study. It was in 1873 that George Smith discovered that the cuneiform tablets at the British Museum furnished close parallels to the Bible stories of the Creation and the

Deluge. He was sent to Nineveh by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, and in *The Chaldean Genesis* gave the results of his investigations. Since that time material has rapidly accumulated, and Dr. Jeremias set himself to give such a view of it as would commend it to the attention of serious students. The relation of the Bible to older religious teaching is a new subject, and every day fresh light is being thrown upon it. Canon Johns says, 'Instead of emerging from a condition of primitive life, and developing their civilization and religion independently and in protest against barbarism and savagery, we see that on all hands Israel was in contact with advanced civilization and must have found it extremely difficult to avoid high ideals of morality and religion.' Dr. Jeremias sets forth a theory of astral religion which he has elaborated with great care. He has endeavoured to reconstruct the Babylonian system, which was founded upon astronomy and which is said to have spread over the whole world. Each point of the investigation is supported by documentary evidence, and the relation is shown between this teaching and the religion of Israel. The books of the Bible are searched for parallels, and much interesting matter is gathered together. The theory affords 'a real insight into ancient thought,' and numerous illustrations from tablets and cylinders light up its discussions and descriptions. It is a book to be examined and weighed by students, and though we do not suppose that their verdict will be found favourable to the theory, the light which these contemporary records throw upon the Bible often brings out new beauty and meaning. Dr. Jeremias seeks in the Old Testament a revelation through the medium of history. 'For him,' he says, 'the Israelite presentation of God and expectation of a deliverer is not a distillation of human ideas grown on various soils of the Ancient East, but is an eternal truth, in the gay mantle of Oriental imagery.'

Modern Thought and Traditional Faith. By George Preston Mains. (New York : Eaton & Mains. \$1 50c. net.)

Dr. Mains is a busy Methodist official in New York, who has kept alive his interest in critical studies and cultivated that broad-minded toleration of which John Wesley and Adam Clarke long ago set an example to Methodism. He begins his volume with a chapter which shows the position which the Church filled in the Middle Ages. The Renaissance brought in new conceptions of civilization, a sense of man's individual worth. Chapters on Scientific Exploration and Philosophy and Critical Science bring Dr. Mains up to his special subject of Biblical Criticism. He writes in the interests of those who are peculiarly sensitive on this question. The time is ripe for 'a larger and better philosophy of the Bible than either the Papacy or Protestantism, until at least very recently, had been prepared to yield.' The new view of the Bible gives due consideration to the human elements which enter into its construction, and recognizes it as historic literature legitimately subject to investigation. In all this Dr. Mains holds that God is giving to the world more clearly and fully than ever before the direct revelation of Himself. This prepares

the way for chapters on Hebrew History, Old Testament Origins, New Testament Criticism, Growth of Interpretation and kindred subjects. The book is a guarded and well-reasoned statement which will help even those who do not entirely accept its position to look on the whole question with broader views and stronger confidence in the Bible as the word of God and the revelation of Christ. It is written in a style which makes it a pleasure to read, and is conciliatory as well as enlightened.

The Christian Doctrine of Man. By H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A., Tutor in Rawdon College. (T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

An excellent introduction to a subject which, as the author says, makes great demands 'on both theological learning and Christian experience.' The approach is through a study of the Hebrew psychological terms to the New Testament Doctrine of Man. An admirable chapter on 'Dogmatic Anthropology' presents a lucid historical sketch of theories of human nature; Mr. Robinson has given special attention to the Patristic writers, and he possesses in a rare degree the faculty of discrimination which enables him to state succinctly the essential principles involved in the controversies on anthropology down to the Reformation. The modern period is treated with greater detail. The contributions of science, philosophy, and sociology are estimated with fullness of knowledge and sound judgement. Finally, the Christian doctrine of man is stated 'in relation to current thought.' Mr. Robinson examines the foundations of 'the stately structure of Pauline trichotomy,' and shows that they are insufficient to support it. He is content to emphasize rather than to endeavour to reconcile some of 'the antitheses from which the problems of this subject spring.' For example, after giving reasons for his disagreement from both the Augustinian and the evolutionary theories of sin, he admits that his own view 'leaves unexplained the universality of sin.' For its candour as for its reverence, for its philosophic grasp as for its careful exegesis, this able volume may be heartily commended to students seeking guidance on this profoundly important subject.

Personality in Christ and in Ourselves. By William Sanday, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2s. net.)

The candour of these three lectures is quite refreshing. Prof. Sanday, in his *Christologies*, invited criticism, and here we see how it is welcomed and used to improve the statement of the great mystery of the Incarnation. Dr. Sanday did not intend, as some critics thought, to give an undue preference to the unconscious and subconscious states over the conscious. He was simply trying to describe the psychical processes as well as he could without any attempt to construct a comparative scale of values. The pamphlet will be keenly appreciated by students, and will show them what use can be made by an open-minded scholar of the criticism of experts.

The Personality of God, and other Essays in Constructive Christian Thought. By Edward Grubb, M.A. (Headley Brothers. 2s. net.)

This interesting book contains eighteen papers contributed to *The British Friend* by its editor. Mr. Grubb's point of view is that 'first-hand religious experience is the foundation of all real knowledge of God.' Through developing religious experience 'the one Self-Conscious Spirit' reveals Himself to men. Amongst the subjects are such central themes as 'Jesus and the Christ of Experience,' 'Forgiveness and Atonement,' 'Prayer and the Will of God.' So far as it is possible within the limits of a short paper, Mr. Grubb expounds each subject lucidly; he is always fair-minded, and if at times he leaves something unsaid, he never fails to commend truth as he discerns it with sweet reasonableness.

The Life of Faith. By W. W. Holdsworth, M.A. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

These expositions set forth 'faith as a life—the living principle of a living spirit, the very vital breath of those who are, and those who would be, Christians.' They begin with the obedience of faith. It is a true submission of spirit. When the initial act becomes the constant law, 'the consummation of life is reached, and in man there appears the righteousness of God.' Christ's response to faith is that revelation of Himself within the man, 'which makes us one with Him in a fellowship which death itself cannot sever, and so in Him we have eternal life.' This leads up to the chapter on 'Spiritual Life and Spiritual Communion.' Love is the note of this life, and the issues of life are described in John xv. 11–26, as the fulfilment of joy, the perfect intimacy conferred by love, the fellowship of suffering. Three rich chapters on The Informing Spirit, The Life Triumphant, and the Consecration of Life, bring the book to a close. It is a beautiful exposition of some of the richest passages of St. John's Gospel, and will send its readers back to the words of Jesus in the Upper Room with a new sense of their meaning and of the real secret of that surrender to Christ which issues in power, in knowledge, and in joy. Every devout reader will find great treasure in this little book.

Reality of the Divine Movement in Israel. By Rev. G. Haughton Porter, M.A., S.T.D. (Toronto: Briggs.)

The widespread unsettlement of popular belief in the reality of Supernatural Revelation has led Dr. Porter to write this essay. He holds that the Darwinian Evolutionary theory has broken down, and that 'Right Conceptions' of God and of man's nature and place in the Universe make it evident that religion was a 'Divine Provision to save the race from degeneracy and self-destruction.' The certainty of a 'Primeval Revelation coeval with the advent of Humanity' is maintained with much vigour, and Dr. Porter supports his contention from Hebrew history. He describes the Old Testament Scriptures as the National Literature produced by the Divine Movement in the Hebrew nation. It is 'the story of human

life under the nearer touch of God.' Dr. Porter shows that the religious authority of Scripture is not everywhere equal, 'the purely Historical, Biographical, Genealogical and Topographical records are not Revelation.' The writers were inspired to write, but what they wrote was their own naturally acquired knowledge and conviction; and much of it was doubtless the common knowledge of the time.' The Old Testament has exerted incomparably more religious influence than any other religious literature and has been a marvellous intellectual stimulant. No explanation of this unique position will hold save that Israel was 'the theatre of a Divine Movement, and under the influence of a continuous supernatural Spiritual force,' preparing the way for the coming of the Christ and the spread of His Kingdom.

The Children's Bible. Selected chapters arranged in paragraphs. By Robinson Smith. (Sampson Low & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This volume is intended for parents who feel that there are certain chapters of the Bible which their children should not read and for children who complain that some chapters do not interest them. It is arranged in paragraphs, and a portion is marked by unobtrusive dates at the side for each day of the year. The four Gospels are fused into one chronological narrative in a very helpful way. The first eighteen verses of St. John's Gospel ought, we think, to form a prelude to the whole story, and not to come after the narrative of the child Jesus in the Temple. Notes are given at the end of the volume on the sequence of events in the Life of Christ. The Minor Prophets are rather hardly dealt with. The whole of Jonah is given and seven verses of Micah, but everything else is omitted. We like the idea of such a selection, and it is wisely and carefully done on the whole. The volume is printed in clear type, and 'A Child's Calendar of Memorable Texts' is excellent, and ought to be of great service.

Aspects of the Holy Communion. By the Rev. J. T. Levens, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

The distinctive feature of this work is its comprehensive character. The author's aim is 'the harmonizing of views that are commonly regarded as discordant.' The manifold 'aspects' of the Holy Communion are classified as follows: Memorial, Liturgical, Eucharistical, Evangelical, Federal, Social, Sacrificial, Sacramental, Mystical, Devotional, Doctrinal and Prophetical. There are also more than fifty pages of scholarly notes. In one of these the author misconceives the relation of the Wesleyan Methodist Covenant Service to the Sacraments. The service is always, and not 'usually,' followed by the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and those who most highly value the privilege of Holy Communion would be the last to say that it renders 'any other Covenant service quite superfluous.' Mr. Levens finds that Nonconformity is 'weakest in its sacramental teaching'; but he adds: 'happily Methodism, or at any rate, Wesleyan Methodism, has kept an antidote in its employment of the Liturgy for its office of the Holy Communion.' Many whose point of

view differs somewhat from that of Mr. Levens will appreciate the candour and catholicity of his work and will rejoice in many points of agreement. His studies have convinced him that 'the efficacy of the Memorial does not depend on the due recitation of any formula, however venerable, or the use of any invocation, however august. That efficacy is rather to be sought in the obedience of the Church by observing the Lord's Memorial according to His commandment.'

Christian Evidences for Jewish People (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons), by A. Lukyn Williams, B.D., with Preface by Dr. H. L. Strack. This is a volume which will probably not have a large circulation, but should be specially useful for its purpose. Dr. Strack asks in his preface, 'Of what matter to us are the charges and objections brought against Christianity by a Lithuanian Jew who lived three centuries and a half before our own time, a Jew who did not even know Greek, and therefore was not able to read the New Testament in the language in which it was written?' But the author fairly and fully answers the question in his Introduction. In the last decade of the sixteenth century a book was published at Troki in Lithuania, by Rabbi Isaac ben Abraham, which, though by no means original, was and has remained very effective as a summary of objections against Christianity from the standpoint of the orthodox Jew. This *Chizzuk Emunah*, as it was called, although old-fashioned, is by no means out of date, and contains in lucid form just those arguments which have to be met by any advocate of Christianity amongst the Jews to-day. When it is remembered that there are now some eleven and a half millions of Jews in existence, and that ten millions of them are fairly characterized as 'orthodox,' it will be seen that it is a matter of no small importance to meet this carefully prepared summary, from a learned Karaite Rabbi, with scholarly Christian replies. Mr. Williams, as a former Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholar at Cambridge University, is well equal to his task, and discharges it with conspicuous courtesy and ability. He is himself an earnest clergyman of the Anglican church, holding evangelical views, apparently with little leaning towards modern developments of religious thought. The book is a very able production for its purpose; one is only afraid that those who most need it will least read it. It should, however, be useful for those theological students who wish to appreciate the reasons why Jews, as a rule, are so difficult to move towards Christianity. The present volume is occupied with Old Testament matters. A second is to follow in which the New Testament will be discussed, and then a third, in which miscellaneous difficulties from the *Chizzuk Emunah* will be considered. Dr. Strack's recommendation of these volumes merits endorsement from all who are interested in the future of the Jewish people.

Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church Concerning the Eucharistic Presence. By the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., 2 vols. (Longmans. 5s. net.)

These papers were written to show that the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence was not the teaching of the Reformers and is not the doctrine of

the English Church. The writer cites the views of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the reforming divines of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Then he examines the authoritative books and documents of the English Reformed Church, the Homilies, and the Catechism. The long array of Appendixes shows with what learning and scrupulous care this great scholar carried out his self-imposed task. The book will be better than a whole library for many busy men. It is the rich and ripe work of an expert.

The West London Ethical Society publish *Two Responsive Services in the Form and Spirit of The Litany and the Two Commandments for use in Families, Schools, and Colleges, with a Commentary*, by Stanton Coit, Ph.D. It is thought that the services will be found a refreshing alternative to some of those in use, and that families may use them at least once a week. It gives one a shock to find that the name of God has evaporated. 'We ask for mercy from our fellow-men;' 'We call upon all men to save us,' 'Each one of us hears the voice of Duty saying within him: I am the supreme judge of men and of gods; thou shalt exalt nothing above me.' The glory is gone. We are not even praying to the sunbeams. Dr. Coit has nothing but ethics; their foundation and sanction have vanished away.

Culture of the Christian Heart, by the Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (R.T.S. 1s. net). This little book is uniform with Mr. Clapperton's *Methods of Soul Culture*, and *How to attain Fellowship with God*. Its thirteen brief chapters deal with such themes as Learning to Pray; Whole-Heartedness; Love to God; Growth in Charity; Praise; Christian Conversation. They tempt one to read, and they are full of wise suggestions as to the way in which prayer may become an instinct, a second nature. The illustrations add much to the value and interest of a most profitable and helpful little manual of devotion.

What a Christian Believes, and Why. By C. F. Hunter, B.A. (J. W. Butcher. 2s.)

This is a very complete and useful handbook, which deals not only with the evidences but also with the doctrines of the Christian Faith. It is arranged with great skill, but what most impresses us is its lucidity and its interest. Sunday-school teachers and local preachers will gain much from it, but scholars will read it with pleasure. Every subject is handled with knowledge and sympathy. The way in which the Sacraments and the question of the ministry are treated well illustrates the merit of the book. Nothing could be clearer or more sane. It is a thoroughly good and useful handbook which ought to have a very wide sale.

The Atheist's Dilemma, by Dr. Warschauer (Allenson, 6d.), is a veryucid and powerful defence of Theism. It is a pleasure to read such an argument, and there is no weak link in it.

Why I am not a Higher Critic, by W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A. (Morgan & Scott, 2d.). A very clear and well-reasoned statement which deserves attention.

COMMENTARIES AND SERMONS

The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv. Horae Semiticae : vols. v, vi, vii. (Cambridge University Press.)

ISHO'DAD of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha in Assyria, flourished about A.D. 850: He was famous for his learning, and wrote commentaries on most of the Books of the Bible. The recognition of the value of his writings is comparatively recent, and stands mainly to the credit of three scholars, Prof. Gottheil, Dr. Isaac Hall, and especially Dr. J. Rendel Harris, who derived from Isho'dad the *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, which he published in 1895. Mrs. Gibson has now earned the gratitude of students of the New Testament by editing these three volumes, the first of which contains her translation of the *Commentaries* and the other two the Syriac text. The value of the work is considerably enhanced by Dr. Harris's interesting and suggestive introduction.

The commentaries of Isho'dad are worth reading for their own sake. There are some legendary details, but they are comparatively few, while the freshness of many of the comments is remarkable. Dr. Harris calls special attention to the note on Martha's words in John xi. 27: 'It must not be supposed,' says Isho'dad, 'that she was in possession of that perfect knowledge which we have to-day: she calls him the Son of God as being a man virtuous and righteous and superior to all other men: because in the Scripture they used to call virtuous men Christs and Sons of God.' It is possible, of course, that this passage, and others of similar character, may be unacknowledged borrowings from earlier writers: yet even if this be so, thanks are due to Isho'dad for preserving them.

But it is not merely the freshness of his comments which gives Isho'dad's work its importance: there are other reasons. In the first place, the commentary of the twelfth-century Syrian father, Bar Šalibi, has long been recognized as a valuable source of early traditions, and has been much used by scholars. It is found, however, on examination, that Isho'dad supplied a considerable portion of Bar Šalibi's material, page after page of the two commentaries being word for word alike. As Isho'dad belongs to the ninth and Bar Šalibi to the twelfth century, there is no uncertainty as to who was the borrower, though no acknowledgement is made, and scholars will doubtless henceforth prefer to go to the older source for the early traditions.

Again, a commonly recurring phrase in Isho'dad is 'The Interpreter says so and so.' But 'the Interpreter' is Theodore of Mopsuestia; and all who appreciate Theodore's greatness as a commentator will welcome the opportunity of gathering up even the smallest fragments of his writings which Isho'dad has preserved. That these fragments are numerous may

be inferred from the fact that Mrs. Gibson has made a list of two hundred and thirteen coincidences between Isho'dad and Theodore from the Fourth Gospel alone.

Finally, textual critics will welcome the contributions which Isho'dad makes to the restoration of the original Syriac of the Diatessaron, partly by occasional quotation from the Harmony itself, but for the most part by excerpts from Ephrem Syrus's commentary on it. Mrs. Gibson's volumes will facilitate the completion of the collection of these quotations, which Dr. Harris has already carried so far. She deserves the best thanks of students of the New Testament, who congratulate her on having brought a task which has occupied six and a half years to so satisfactory a conclusion.

An Introduction to the Pentateuch. By A. T. Chapman, M.A., Emmanuel College. (8s. 6d. net.)

The Book of Exodus in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. (8s. 6d. net.)

The Book of Numbers in the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. By A. H. McNeile, D.D. Fellow and Dean of Sidney Sussex College. (2s. 6d. net.)

Cambridge University Press.

These three volumes are full of rich material for Bible students. Dr. Driver's Commentary deals with difficult and complex problems, and has occupied a longer time in preparation than he expected. He generally allows the reader to know what Dillman's conclusions are, but that masterly work appeared in 1880, and much has been written since which Dr. Driver has found of service in his effort to bring out the riches of the book of Exodus, which exhibits some of the most characteristic laws and institutions, ceremonial observances and religious ideals of the Hebrews, in the different stages of their growth. The endeavour is to point out the stages and the means by which the progressive revelation contained in the Old Testament was made. Dr. Driver's work is a masterpiece which every scholar will want to have on his shelves. Dr. McNeile's *Numbers* is a first-rate piece of work, though it is on a smaller scale than Prof. Driver's. Mr. Chapman's Introduction gives a general account of the critical problems which concern the Hexateuch as a whole. The aim is to secure more complete treatment than would otherwise be possible, and to avoid repetitions in the Introductions to the separate Commentaries. It distinguishes at least four documents in the Hexateuch and three separate codes which belong to different periods in the history of Israel, and gives an instructive history of Hexateuch criticism with a summary of the arguments in support of the conclusions reached by modern scholars. It is a most complete statement, which puts the case in a way that helps a student to grasp the whole position.

The Problem of Deuteronomy. By the Rev. J. S. Griffiths.
(S.P.C.K. 2s.)

This Essay gained the prize for the Bishop Jeune Memorial Fund, and it must have deserved it. The writer began with the intention to make the 'critical theory' the starting-point of his Essay, but his studies have led him to the conclusion that no date and no authorship fit the Book of Deuteronomy save those which it distinctly claims for itself. He puts his case clearly, examining the critical position with candour, and furnishes material by which a thoughtful reader may arrive at a just conclusion for himself. It is a painstaking investigation which Bible students should not overlook.

Life, Death, and Immortality: Studies in the Psalms. By
the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. (Murray. 8s. 6d.
net.)

A better title for this book would be 'God, Sin, and the Future Life,' for to each of these conceptions a separate section is devoted, though the first and second are discussed chiefly in their relation to the third. The developing significance of these doctrines, as they appear in the Psalms, is traced with careful analysis of the phraseology, with clearness of definition, and with results that mark the final stage of the revelation of the Old Testament, and are a distinct preparation for the teaching of the New. Incidentally, matters of surpassing interest are touched upon, such as the connexion of these conceptions with primitive thought, and especially the eschatological bearing of Jewish monotheism, and of the urgent sense of impotence among the writers and users of the Psalms. There are a few cases, as might be expected in a volume dealing with so many details, in which the exegesis is not convincing, and a few in which an emendation is suggested without need, as in Psalm li. 16, 17. But the book is a fine example of modern scholarly method, and a valuable contribution to the settlement in the right way of several vexed questions.

The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount. By Gerald
Friedlander, Minister of the Western Synagogue, Lon-
don. (Routledge & Sons. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is a painful and disappointing book. Its aim is to set forth the relation of Christianity to Judaism. The writer thinks that a turning-point has been reached in the history of Christianity. He lays much stress on the *Hibbert Journal* Supplement, *Jesus or Christ*, and says that journal is 'echoing the voice of unrest in Christian circles throughout the world.' Dr. Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* is actually represented as having, 'once for all, dealt the death-blow to the ordinary accepted life of Jesus.' Mr. Friedlander is not prepared to deny the possibility of the existence of Jesus, but he enters his protest against Mr. Montefiore's

position in his fine spirited volume on *The Synoptic Gospels*. He regards the statements in those lectures as revealing 'an unbalanced judgement.' 'It has been left to an English Jew to invite his co-religionists to enter into the heritage that is fast slipping away from the Christian grasp.' It almost looks as though Mr. Friedlander were afraid of the influence of that book. His Preface dwells only on one side of the subject and takes no account of the work of Harnack and other students who have so abundantly vindicated the truthfulness of St. Luke's writings. As to the Sermon on the Mount, we have no wish to minimize the Jewish element in it, but Mr. Friedlander's study only deepens the impression that it makes on our mind of the unique character both of the Teacher and the teaching.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. By the Right Rev. A. Robertson, D.D., Bishop of Exeter, and the Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

Bishop Robertson made himself responsible for this Commentary more than fourteen years ago, but pressure of other duties has made it impossible to finish this work earlier, and it is now completed through the co-operation of Dr. Plummer, the editor of the series. The Introduction covers sixty pages. The conclusion is reached that our 1 Cor. is not the first letter which St. Paul wrote to Corinth, but the editors do not support the hypothesis that 2 Cor. vi. 4-7 is part of that earlier letter. They are inclined to place St. Paul's second visit before the letter mentioned in 1 Cor. v. 9. The letter is not a doctrinal treatise, though it deals with one great doctrinal issue arising out of the doubts at Corinth about the resurrection (xv. 12). On the Christian life the 'Epistle is an inexhaustible mine of suggestion.' The principle of the higher expediency determines the treatment of the ethical problems which occur in the Epistle. 'The higher expediency lays down the duty of subordinating self to others, the lower self to the higher, things temporal to things eternal. Love is the inward state (correlative with faith) in which this subordination has become an imperative instinct, raising the whole life to victory over the world.' No other book of the New Testament reflects so richly the life of the Christian body as it then was, and the principles which guided it. The development of discipline, of organization, and of worship is seen in some classical passages which are discussed with much fullness. One general characteristic of the Epistle is 'the firmness of touch with which St. Paul handles the varied matters that come before him, carrying back each question, as it comes up for treatment, to large first principles.' The riches of the Commentary itself will be more and more understood by those who bring it into constant use. Sixteen pages are given to the thirteenth chapter—'A Psalm in Praise of Love.' 'Writer after writer has expatiated upon its literary and rhythmical beauty, which places it among the first passages in the sacred or, indeed, in any writings.' The notes supply everything that a scholar needs for the interpretation

of the chapter. The fifteenth chapter takes more than fifty pages. Thirty-six explanations of v. 29 have been collected, but only three call for notice. The meaning must remain doubtful, but the editors favour the suggestion that 'persons previously inclined to Christianity sometimes ended in being baptized out of affection or respect for the dead, i. e. because some Christian relation or friend had died, earnestly desiring and praying for their conversion.' The Commentary was worth waiting for, and every one who purchases it will feel well repaid by the light which is thrown on every page of the Epistle.

The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. By S. R. Macphail,
D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 1s. 6d.)

This little Commentary has extended notes and a good Introduction. Nothing seems to be omitted that is necessary for a student of the Epistle to know. Dr. Macphail has mastered the work of other expositors and has put his own results in the clearest and most helpful way. This is one of the best brief commentaries on the Epistle that we have.

Hebrews and the General Epistles (Westminster New Testament). By A. F. Mitchell, M.A. (Melrose. 2s. net.)

The writer of this volume, in the series edited by Dr. Garvie, is a broad-minded, influential Sheffield clergyman, whose book, *How to Teach the Bible*, has had a large circulation. When so much has to be dealt with within the limits of about three hundred pages, it is unreasonable to demand individuality or completeness. But although the conditions preclude the solving of problems, they nevertheless give to the capable and practical man the opportunity of being useful, and of making a valid contribution to the general understanding of Scripture. Of this opportunity Mr. Mitchell has taken the fullest advantage, and has packed into his pages a wonderful amount of useful information, and sensible, practical exegesis. Although he has well-marked opinions of his own on many things, he is not afraid to say 'we do not know,' where the evidence is too meagre for a verdict: and for this abstention from dogmatism we may well be grateful, for it is in welcome contrast with the confident pronouncements which are so characteristic a feature of modern scholarship. On the authorship of Hebrews, for instance, after detailing the various views, from Apollos to Priscilla, he is content with the negation of the Pauline authorship, leaving all other matters open. One pronouncement on Hebrews is interesting, and advocates a position which is only too often overlooked: 'Personally I regard it as having been spoken to an assembly before it was written down. In several places we can detect the mannerisms of a speaker or preacher.' How true of the majestic oratory at the end of chap. xii! We heartily commend this little book to preachers.

Charterhouse Sermons. By Gerald H. Rendall, Litt.D., LL.D. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

This stimulating volume is a memorial of the fourteen years during which Dr. Rendall has tried 'to uphold the Christ' from the pulpit at Charterhouse. Its themes are those which arrest attention, and the treatment is very felicitous. Some of the sermons, like that on Trafalgar Day, and on the funeral of King Edward VII, have historic interest; others deal with such themes as Keep Innocency, Tale-Telling, Courtesy, the Blessedness of Temptation, Use and Abuse of Passion, in the most effective way. Every one who loves a good sermon will find rich treasure here, and Charterhouse scholars will renew many happy memories of a cultured and deeply spiritual ministry.

Visions and Revelations. By the Rev. J. T. Dean, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 5s. net.)

St. John's Apocalypse has attracted and baffled many minds; it has lured and then bewildered them. But the accumulated knowledge of quite recent years has given certainty where before scholars were unsure, and guidance where the way was not sure. Mr. Dean has taken advantage of this knowledge, and in a series of seventeen sermons has laid bare the general movement of the writer's thought. He shows the immediate message which the book has to convey, and its deeper and more far-reaching implications. Except incidentally he does not deal with the perplexing critical questions which are involved; but with a firm hold grasps the quite certain truth and shows its close application to life. Everywhere the treatment is marked by adequate knowledge, sobriety of judgement, and a large power of clear and forceful exposition. To many thoughtful readers this volume will break the seal of the Book of the Revelation, and make its rich resources of teaching and comfort available for ordinary life. It is instinct with reverence, wisdom, and power.

The Servant of God. By W. B. Selbie, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The principal of Mansfield College is known as both a thinker and preacher of distinction, and in this able volume he has treated a great theme worthily. Of the fourteen sermons, five are given to the exposition of Isaiah's great conception of the Servant of God; and the other nine are on quite cognate subjects, so that the volume has more or less of a unity, being always engaged with a certain definite aspect of the character and work of our Lord. It is a great aspect, and one that makes great demands upon learning as well as upon insight, that requires sanity of judgement as well as gifts of exposition. But all these gifts are at the principal's easy disposal, he moves amid the great things with reverent certainty, so that the book is rich in spiritual apprehension and in that power of making large spiritual

truths vivid and clear. Some of the sermons have a sustained impressiveness in the clear and ordered unfolding of large thoughts, and in their power of application; and every one of them is luminous with clear light and powerful with sympathetic persuasion. This is a book which is set for the defence of Christian truth, and which by its fine spirit will make pleas and claims that must be felt.

The Pilgrim Ship. By the Rev. James Black, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

An allegory must be written by a man of imagination, and its appeal must be to men of imagination. And this is an allegory, of the Church first, and then of the individual soul. The idea, of course, is older than the Church, and as old as the soul: but it is always capable of a new presentation to him who has the genius to work it into exquisite detail while he still holds it in congruous wholeness. Mr. Black has a fine imagination, which he always holds in disciplined control, but we do not think he is completely successful in working out the allegory—perhaps the initial choice of a ship forbade that. But there is no suggestion of unsucess anywhere else in the book. The teaching is full of grace and beauty, and everywhere reveals a mind of great simplicity and a heart of sensitive appreciation. Large aspects of life are interpreted with insight and power, and the preacher is a teacher of the ways of the soul in its ascents and descents, in its conflicts and struggles, in its defeats and victories. It is a very gracious book, instinct with fine thought and feeling and set for the inspiration and upholding of goodness.

The Shattered Temple. By John Eames, M.A. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. 6d.)

This is a volume of six-and-twenty addresses to children, with a distinct look to children of an older growth. The subjects have been chosen from quite unexpected places, and are such as would be likely to attract a child's attention; and their treatment is simple, picturesque, and arrestive. The addresses are enriched with a vast wealth of illustrative incident and quotation, the teaching is wholesome and inspiring, and older children would find them deeply interesting. To all who have to speak to children this book will give great help.

At the Back of Things. By Hugh B. Chapman. (Duckworth & Co. 5s. net.)

There is a touch of originality in the conception of this book, and a good deal of ability and wisdom in its execution. It is full of the practical sagacity of a keen observer of life, it points out the true paths and persuades to their pursuit. It is a collection of essays on twenty-four popular proverbs, and the author's purpose has been to interpret some phases of man's life through his common speech. There is a broad humanity in the essays, and a very tender sympathy; they are thoughtful, suggestive, and illuminating;

and they are instinct with the spirit of courage and hope. It is a good volume of Broad Church sermons, preached from lay texts, packed with experience and observation, with a good deal of wisdom for practical guidance, and a soul of solicitude and persuasion. It will be a real help in the revelation of ideals and the creation of impulses.

Two new volumes of *The Great Texts of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 10s. each; subscription price 6s. net) are now ready. One is *Genesis to Numbers*, the other *Acts to Romans I-VIII*. The treatment of the first chapter of Genesis is very suggestive. The sections on 'Continuous Creation' and 'the Creator' have much valuable material for a preacher, and the illustrations are so fresh and good that many will prize the volume greatly for their sake. The stores here opened up will stimulate thought and add freshness and variety to every sermon preached from these subjects. About twenty-five texts are treated in the Old Testament volume, but that gives no idea of the riches waiting for the student. There are sixty-five pages on the first chapter of Genesis alone, and it is all really helpful matter. The New Testament volume gives 230 pp. to the Acts of the Apostles and 275 to the first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. The expositions are just what a busy man wants to unlock the meaning of a passage, and the illustrations from poetry and biography are thoroughly appropriate and helpful. Quotations are freely given from the best sermons and commentaries, and there is a little list of the literature available for further study of each subject. Dr. Hastings and his helpers do not seek so much to provide outlines as to light up great Bible truths and supply really good material on which each preacher can set his own stamp.

Exodus I.-XX. 17. By the Rev. F. B. Meyer, B.A. (R.T.S. 2s.) The new volume of the *Devotional Commentary*, edited by the Rev. A. R. Buckland, M.A., is full of matter, and everything is put in a way that will not only promote devotional study, but help preachers and teachers in their work. Mr. Meyer shows how the story of Moses bears on present-day problems, and is always fresh and picturesque.

The Messages to the Seven Churches, by T. H. Bindley, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.). These lectures are clear and practical. The significance of each message is well brought out, and the circumstances of each church are described in a way that teachers will find very helpful. It is a thoroughly useful little book.

The Rope of Hair, by the Rev. Stuart Robertson, M.A. (R.T.S. 2s. 6d.). These are sermons for children, and uncommonly good ones. The Japanese women and girls, who sacrificed their tresses to help in building the great temple at Kioto, teach a fine lesson. The sermons arrest attention. Every point is well put and vigorously applied in a sentence that fixes itself in the conscience.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connexions. By Otto Pfeiderer, D.D. Vol. III. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.)

THIS volume completes Dr. Pfeiderer's important work and greatly enhances its value. The subjects dealt with are Jewish Hellenism, Syncretism and Gnosticism, Apocryphal Acts and Gospels, Doctrinal and Hortatory Writings of the Church. On some subjects we are of opinion that the facts point to a different conclusion from that arrived at by Dr. Pfeiderer, as, for example, the extent to which 'gnosticizing development of the Pauline Christology and soteriology' is traceable in the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians respectively. But the independence of the author's judgement makes his conversion to Bishop Lightfoot's view of the Ignatian Letters all the more significant. 'I myself, although I previously, in common with the Tübingen critics, contested their genuineness, have been convinced by the very thorough argument of Lightfoot.' The chapter on Apocryphal literature is full of interest. Of the various 'Gospels' the judgement is: 'Alongside of bed-rock from the lowest strata of the primitive tradition, there are also curious conglomerates of late formation. But as literary monuments they have an incontestible significance.'

Christian Thought to the Reformation. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A., D.Litt. (Duckworth & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Workman has had to point out the main movements of Christian thought from the close of the Apostolic Age to the dawn of the Reformation in a volume of 250 pages. It is a vast subject, and one that has been comparatively neglected, but he has discharged his task with a master's skill and has not allowed the mass of matter dealt with to rob his chapters of sparkle or vivacity. The study begins with 'The Jewish factors.' The influence of the Jew upon Christian thought after the Apostolic Age was perhaps greater than we think. 'Later Judaism, the Judaism of the Apocalypses and of Alexandria, and early Christianity, especially in the non-Pauline types, were so closely connected and were differentiated so gradually that they must have exercised considerable influence one upon the other.' Marcion repudiated both Judaism and the Old Testament, and the reaction against his teaching led to a triumph of the allegorical method as a key for unlocking the Bible treasures. The Apocalyptic literature of Judaism had a great influence on Christianity, and the doctrine of the Logos may be traced to Jewish philosophical sources. Some theologians

have deprecated the 'Hellenizing of the primitive faith,' but Dr. Workman regards it as a necessary factor in the growth of the Church, and part of the work of the Holy Spirit. The influence of Origen and the rise of Neoplatonism are discussed in an illuminating way. The chapter on the Person of Christ brings out the difficulty under which the Church laboured when it attempted to put into exact words its concepts of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. 'The genius of Rome' made two things stand out prominently: its emphasis for law and its reverence for tradition. St. Augustine claims a chapter to himself, and it has caught the spell of one whose memory is alike revered by 'Romanist and Anglican, Mystic or Covenanter, Lutheran and Methodist.' 'His rich, many-sided nature appropriated from all sorts of sources, but gave a new significance to all.' Doctrines that are really contradictory are united in the rich inner life of their originator. From Augustine we pass into 'the Dark Ages.' Mediaeval thought begins with Gregory the Great. His doctrine was a confused Augustinianism, and the two centuries that followed were 'almost sterile in their contributions to thought.' Charles the Great stirred slumbering minds by his efforts to promote education and establish schools. Radbert and Gottschalk exerted a great influence. John Scotus Erigena was one of the first great Christian mystics. Scholasticism is a fascinating subject, and one in which Dr. Workman is thoroughly at home. The space devoted to Anselm, St. Bernard, and Abailard is limited, but much learning and research are packed into them, and the student will find clear and wise guidance. The closing chapters on 'The Mediaeval Mystics' and 'The Schoolmen' are full of matter, and the 'Select Bibliography' will be prized by those who wish to pursue any branch of the subject. Only a trained expert could have put so much into such small compass without sacrificing either exactness or interest. It is a fine piece of work which scholars will know how to appreciate and to use.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and A. R. Waller, M.A. Vol. vii. Cavalier and Puritan. (Cambridge University Press. 9s. net.)

This volume is extraordinarily rich and varied. Its opening chapter by Dr. F. W. Moorman, is on the 'Cavalier Lyrists,' Herrick, Carew, Suckling, and Lovelace. Herrick composed melodies for which Carew and Suckling 'recked little or nothing, but which would have found attentive ears among the contemporaries of Marlowe, Breton, and Shakespeare.' He 'entered into that heritage of song which had come down from the homelier strains of the Elizabethan song-books and miscellanies, and was ever ready to attune his lyre to the music of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Campion.' Carew stands next to him as a lyrist, and is sometimes regarded as the founder of the school of courtly amorous poetry, though priority in that field seems really to belong to Herrick. George Herbert fills the chief place among 'The Sacred Poets' of the second quarter of the seventeenth

century. English sacred verse can show no other group of masters like Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan. Herbert's fascination is due as much to his character as to his writings. Crashaw's offends 'by an outrageous conceit, by gaudy colour, by cloying sweetness or by straining of an idea which has been squeezed dry.' Vaughan resembles Wordsworth in his 'intimate and religious feeling for nature. He has an open-air love for all natural sights and sounds, and a subtle sympathy even with the fallen timber or the stones at his feet.' Thomas Traherne's work in prose and poetry receives special attention. His prose is finer than his verse, which is often diffuse and full of repetitions. Prof. Saintsbury writes on the 'Lesser Caroline Poets' and on Milton, whose influence is omnipresent in almost all later English poetry, and in not a little of our later prose literature. A helpful conspectus of his prose works with a note on the text of the poems is given. The Rev. W. H. Hutton has a fine subject in 'Caroline Divines,' and Dr. John Brown does justice to 'John Bunyan and Andrew Marvell.' Dr. Ward deals with 'Historical and Political Writings' in two chapters. He gives a bird's-eye view of the wealth of our State papers and letters, histories and memoirs, which will be of much service to students.

Prof. Saintsbury devotes a delightful chapter to the Antiquaries—Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Fuller, Izaak Walton and Sir Thomas Urquhart. Other subjects are Jacobean and Caroline Criticism; Hobbes and Contemporary Philosophy; Scholars and Scholarship; English Grammar Schools; The Beginnings of English Journalism, and The Advent of Modern Thought in Popular Literature. The bibliographies are marvels of careful preparation and wide knowledge. Such a volume makes one proud of English literature and is itself literature of the most readable and instructive kind.

A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the end of the Sixth Century A.D., with an account of the Principal Sects and Heresies. Edited by Henry Wace, D.D., and William C. Piercy, M.A. (Murray. 21s. net.)

About twenty years ago Dr. Wace and Dr. William Smith edited *The Dictionary of Christian Biography*, which has long been recognized by scholars as a valuable work of reference. It filled four volumes and covered eight centuries. The present Dictionary covers only six centuries, but these are the centuries to which English divines appeal as exhibiting, subject to Holy Scripture, the standards of Primitive Christianity. The limitation of range has enabled Dean Wace and his co-editor to omit a mass of Teutonic names which were of minor interest, and by other omissions and condensations the whole work has been packed into one volume of a little over a thousand double-columned pages. The series of great articles by Bishops Lightfoot, Westcott, Stubbs, Archbishop Benson, Dr. Bright, Dr. Salmon and other masters are now made accessible to a wider circle of students. The Bishop of Exeter has written a new article on St. Augustine which fills nearly twenty-three pages. It has a very

useful syllabus of contents prefixed. The Rev. W. A. Wigram contributes the article on the Nestorian Church. Chancellor Lias provides fresh studies of Arius and Monophysitism, and Dr. A. J. Mason repairs an omission in the earlier work by his sketch of Gaudentius of Brescia, who received a warm letter of thanks from St. Chrysostom for his exertions on his behalf during his struggles in Constantinople. The original articles have been revised by the writers where they were yet alive, and the whole Dictionary has been brought up to date in the most careful way. The paragraph added to the article on Nestorius, dealing with Professor Bathune-Baker's valuable book, is a good illustration of editorial vigilance. The work demands a place on every student's shelves. It has no competitor, and in its new form it will be much more widely useful than the four-volume Dictionary. It is very clearly printed and makes a compact volume, easy to handle.

The Quakers in the American Colonies. By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. Assisted by Isaac Sharpless, D.Sc., and Amelia M. Gummere. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. net.)

This is the first adequate study of the entire Quaker movement in colonial times, when it seemed destined to become one of the foremost religious factors in the life and development of the New World. The American Quakers held that the Spiritual Principle which they had discovered, or re-discovered, was destined to revolutionize life, society, civil government and religion. 'They thought that the Divine Light in man, a radiance from the central Light of the spiritual universe, penetrating the very depths of every soul,' would lead all who accepted it as a guiding star into all truth. The first chapter describes the pre-Quaker Movement in America. Many were seeking after a freer and more inward type of religion than that which prevailed in any of the established Churches. The mystical sectaries who swarmed in Commonwealth times believed that God was in man and that revelation was not closed. In America the collision between Puritans and Quakers is a subject of intense interest. It is strange that a movement at first so full of vitality and power ceased to expand with the expanding life of America. The thing which doomed Quakerism to a limited rôle was the belief that Quakers were to form a 'peculiar people.' The desire to escape from bondage to fashion soon became in itself a kind of slavery. 'Men spent their precious lives, not in propagating the living principles of spiritual religion in the great life of the world, but in perfecting and transmitting a "system" within the circle of the Society, and the heartburnings and tragedies which mark the lives of the consecrated men and women who, in those days, bore the ark, were too often concerned with the secondary rather than with the primary things of spiritual warfare.' Dr. Jones and his collaborators set themselves to show by a study of Quaker biography how these men and women wrought out their soul's faith. We see how Quakerism was planted in New England, in the colony of New York, in the southern colonies, in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania.

We see the Friends as social reformers and as politicians as well as witnesses for inward religion; we watch the persecution they endured and the victories that they won; and though Quakerism disappointed its own hopes, it nobly bore its part in leavening America with religious feeling. The book is one which all students of spiritual history will be eager to put on their shelves.

Lollardy and the Reformation in England. Vol. III. By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

We have already reviewed, at the time of their issue, the first two volumes of Dr. Gairdner's work. In our review we took occasion to pass certain strictures upon the animus against the Reformation which underlay Dr. Gairdner's whole treatment. In his Introduction to the present volume Dr. Gairdner attempts to defend himself from the charges brought against him. He claims that he 'has always desired to understand other religions also.' An historian of religion who does not do this is not worth his salt; our objection against Dr. Gairdner is that he utterly fails to understand the human spirit in revolt, and, as his Introduction shows, has no sympathy whatever with individualism. For him, as he confesses, religion is altogether bound up with the society—the very doctrine, in fact, against which the Reformation was so largely a protest. Now the doctrine may be true or not—we ourselves have much sympathy with the conception—but the advocate of such a doctrine cannot feel aggrieved that his critics point out the unfairness and total lack of apprehension with which he deals with individuals in revolt against the doctrine. By the accident of the times Dr. Gairdner is antagonistic to Little Bilney and the other Protestant martyrs; if he had been born under Marcus Aurelius, we could imagine that he would have equally taken the side of authority and of society, with the philosophers, against the new anarchy—as it seemed to Marcus Aurelius—that we now call Christianity.

To our thinking—and we see no reason to alter our opinion in the later volume—Dr. Gairdner has every qualification for a great historian save one. He is learned—none more so—accurate, and interesting, but his sympathies are so limited that, in spite of himself, he is unjust. The first business of the historian is to try to understand the thought and life of other ages. Here Dr. Gairdner succeeds. But when it comes to understanding the thought and life of people from whom Dr. Gairdner feels a spiritual or personal recoil, he shows his narrow limitations. If a Non-conformist failed to enjoy the *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, or to understand the mighty plans of Hildebrand, Dr. Gairdner would rightly hold him up to scorn; unfortunately, Dr. Gairdner shows that in his own way he is just as incapable of entering into another outlook than his own. With much that Dr. Gairdner writes we agree. From many points of view we are prepared to own that the Reformation was a disaster—a good thing about as badly carried out as a reform could well be. But in dealing

with this difficult subject we desire other guides than the prejudiced—whether Froude or Dr. Gairdner.

Napoleon I: A Biography. By August Fournier. (Longmans. 21s. net.)

Of the making of 'Lives' of the First Napoleon there is literally no end. But for such additions to the ever-growing literature of the subject as the work now under review there is always room. In other words, the work of Prof. Fournier is of first-rate value and importance, and will be all the more interesting to English readers because it is not written by an Englishman. We can, indeed, imagine no more instructive exercise in the 'comparative method' than the perusal of it side by side with, say, Dr. Holland Rose's masterly volumes on the same subject.

Dr. Fournier lays rather more stress than some biographers of Napoleon upon the latter's efforts in the way of constructive statesmanship, and is at pains to bring out the fact that he did seriously endeavour to grapple with some of the economic and social problems with which France was face to face. It is impossible here to criticize or to go into details, but we may say, in a word, that it is well that attention should be drawn to this aspect of Napoleon's manifold activity. Amid the din of battle and the glamour of his astounding victories these more prosaic but very essential matters are apt to be overlooked. On the other hand, it need hardly be said that the military side of Napoleon's career is not neglected; this, indeed, could not be and the work remain a 'Biography' of the Great Captain. In the battle pieces there is not infrequently a lack of picturesqueness and animation, and they are sometimes a little tedious. This lack is accentuated by a complete absence of battle plans. Of course one can find these elsewhere, but it adds not a little to the interest of the narrative to have the necessary tactical and strategic diagrams in the text. But even so, in this connexion it is but fair to say that there is much that is illuminating. What could be more suggestive, for instance, than the following remark as to 'the four battles which stand out from all others as decisive events in Napoleon's career. Marengo established his power in France, Austerlitz secured him the preponderating influence in Europe, while Leipzig destroyed the latter, and Waterloo the former'?

Napoleon assured Bourrienne that he did not seriously entertain the project of the invasion of England, and that his ostentatious preparations were merely a bit of stage-play intended to distract attention from his designs elsewhere. Prof. Fournier inclines to the view that his intentions as to the invasion of England were serious. The point, however, seems to us to still remain somewhat uncertain, possibly must remain so indefinitely.

Our author is inclined to discredit the story that the Emperor endeavoured to take his own life by poison on April 12, 1814. This incident is sometimes placed a few weeks earlier, while Thiébauld tells a similar story, dating it, however, three days after Waterloo, on the authority of Gassicourt, the imperial druggist, who attributes the early death of

Napoleon at St. Helena to the poison still remaining in his system. That this story meets us in so many forms tends to arouse some scepticism as to any serious attempt at suicide having actually taken place; but it does suggest that Napoleon may have talked of his intention so to act under certain circumstances, and have possibly carried about his person the poison-locket of which Gassicourt speaks. We must thank Prof. Fournier for what must be regarded as one of the finest extant biographies of perhaps the most amazing personality that history knows. Miss Adams has presented it in an English form so attractive that it is difficult to realize that one is reading a work originally written in another tongue.

Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation. Edited by Rev. B. J. Kidd, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Kidd has rendered good service in this convenient and scholarly edition of the primary documents of the Reformation. For the English Reformation we have the handy volume published by Gee & Hardy in 1896, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, but for the Continental Reformation there was no such collection. The need of such a volume will require no argument for all who have either studied the Continental Reformation or been called to lecture upon some portion of that vast subject. As we might expect in a work published under the auspices of the Clarendon Press, the volume has been carefully edited and selected. We are not sure, considering the degeneracy of the times, that Dr. Kidd would not have done well to add a translation of the Latin documents. He has done this in the case of the German documents, but not the French—a curious illustration of the neglect of German in comparison with French in the schools of the country. The volume will probably not tempt any but students, but for them it is indispensable, and should be placed at once upon the shelves of all our college libraries. Probably the size of the work prevented the addition of many notes, though there are many points over which there will be sad blundering by all except the expert. We have tested the work here and there, and find that the numerous references are remarkably correct, and free from that convenient refuge of the careless—'printers' blunders.'

Vie de Tolstoi. By Romain Rolland. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 2 fr.)

This is a sympathetic but discriminating study of the great Russian writer and reformer. It gives many details as to his personal life, his soldiering in the Crimea, and his first real contact with the misery of a great city, when he had charge of the census at Moscow in 1882 and almost broke his heart over the woes of the people. His marriage was at first a real inspiration, but when he began to pass through his moral revolution the Countess Tolstoi watched his course with grave disquiet. She was indignant at the

loss of his powers and his time. In later years, however, when the Holy Synod excommunicated her husband she bravely took his part and claimed to share in his perils. The lack of accord with his children was still more manifest. M. A. Leroy-Beaulieu, who visited Tolstoi, found that when he spoke at table his sons hardly hid their ennui and incredulity. So early as 1855 he had felt drawn to a great idea—the foundation of a new religion, the religion of Christ purified from dogmas and mysteries. In 1888 he gave this account of himself: 'I believe in the doctrine of the Christ. I believe that happiness is only possible on the earth when all men accomplish it.' His corner stone was The Sermon on the Mount, in which he found five commandments: 'Do not be angry; Do not commit adultery; Do not take an oath; Do not resist evil by evil; Be the enemy of no one.' That was the negative part of his doctrine. The positive part was summed up in one commandment: 'Love God, and thy neighbour as thyself.' Tolstoi hoped much from the 'Great Revolution' of 1905, but his hopes vanished. The ancient injustice was unchanged, and misery seemed even to have increased. He looked to the East to re-discover that liberty which the West had lost without hope of recovery. But China also disappointed him. The old man's disillusionment was pathetic. M. Rolland enlists the reader's sympathy by the way in which he tells the familiar story, and his account of Tolstoi's masterpieces is very full and judicious.

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus xxx. Fasc. I, II-III. (Bruxelles: 22 Boulevard Saint-Michael.) The second of these quarterly numbers gives a portrait of Charles de Smedt, President of the Society of Bollandists, who died last March. He was born at Gand in 1831, and in 1864 became Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Louvain. His *Principes de la Critique Historique* showed that he was alive to the modern spirit of criticism, and in 1870 he was asked to join the Bollandists in Brussels. The time was not ripe for the application of his plans, and in 1876 he returned to Louvain, where he worked for six years longer till he was called to preside over the Belgian Society. He succeeded in carrying out many important changes. His first effort was to create true and solid instruments of research; inventories of texts, both printed and unprinted, special indexes, bibliographies and other technical works. A start was made with the catalogue of Latin hagiographical MSS. in the Royal Library at Brussels. Then came the Latin MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In these and other undertakings the President took an active part until, in 1899, he became rector of the College of St. Michael. He held that post for three years, and though he afterwards tried to resume his historical studies he soon had to recognize that the hour of repose had sounded. The present issues of the *Analecta* show with what scholarly care the Society is doing its work. Besides the Bulletin of Hagiographic publications, we have here a study of the first biographers of St. Dominic with the Latin Life by Peter Ferrand, the Greek Life of St. Phocas, and the Catalogue of the Latin Hagiographic Codices in the Neapolitan Library.

A School History of England. By C. R. L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling. Pictures by Henry Ford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1s. 8d.)

Boys and girls are fortunate indeed to have such a school history as this, but they will not be allowed to keep it to themselves. It is far too attractive for that. Mr. Fletcher is an expert who condenses into a phrase judgements based on long research, and makes the whole progress of our history unfold like a panorama before our eyes. He has strong opinions and is not afraid to express them, but he has the art of arresting attention and keeping it alert from first to last. The book is not merely a record of kings and wars and parliaments. It allows us to see the great social and industrial movements, and deals sympathetically with such events as the religious awakening under the Wesleys. Mr. Kipling's poems are characteristically vivacious, and pile fact on fact in a way that adds life and zest to the whole story. 'The River's Tale' will make a strong appeal to every young reader with a spice of imagination; and the lines on 'Brown Bess' are capital. 'The Secret of the Machines' is very effective and 'The Glory of the Garden' supplies a fine moral. Mr. Ford's pictures are worthy of a place in such a volume. We can pay them no better compliment. There are also some maps of special interest.

Dr. John Walker and the Sufferings of the Clergy. By G. B. Tatham, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 6s.)

This volume won the Prince Consort Prize for 1910, and every one will feel that the prize was well deserved. The body of the book is a calendar of the letters and MSS. which Walker used in the preparation of his work on the *Sufferings of the Clergy*. This covers 236 pp., and has an index of its own so that students may be able to put their hand on any document they wish to consult. The first entry is 'Fol. 3. Letter from S. Wesley to Dr. Goodall enclosing account of four Lincolnshire clergy, Epworth: Sept. 11, 1704.' We learn from Mr. Tatham's three introductory chapters that Dr. Charles Goodall, sometime Physician to the Charterhouse, began to prepare an answer to Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers. He says: 'I have been at very great charges for above twenty years to stock myself with the most valuable pamphlets which have been wrote on subjects of this nature.' He finally passed over his collection to Dr. Walker, who was rector of St. Mary Major in Exeter. His work was published early in 1714. Mr. Tatham gives an account of contemporary criticism which acts as an antidote to Walker's violent partisanship and supplies some data on the question of the book's reception. Walker made mistakes, but these were due to imperfect or insufficient information. Mr. Tatham's volume has been prepared with great skill and care, and every student of the period will find it indispensable.

The Autobiography of Alfred Austin, Poet Laureate, 1835-1910. With illustrations. 2 vols. (Macmillan & Co. 24s. net.)

This is a delightful autobiography. Its prevailing note is one of cheerfulness, and though at the beginning Mr. Austin does not quite seem at his ease, he soon gets at home with his readers and shares with them the treasures of a full and prosperous life. He belonged to a Roman Catholic family at Headingley and studied for a time at Stonyhurst till the Rector asked that he might be removed, as his character was calculated to create insubordination. That judgement seemed to have a touch of prophetic insight, and Mr. Austin's frank criticism in later years of the Oecumenical Council, when he acted as representative of the *Standard*, shows how far he had then travelled from his early beliefs. Mr. Austin was called to the Bar in 1857, but soon abandoned law for literature. Even in those days the sights and sounds of Nature gave him his chief pleasures. The death of an uncle put him in possession of a little legacy, and he discovered a charming retreat in Hertfordshire of which he promptly became the tenant. Then he felt 'free to live his own life and expand, if it might be, into a poet.' His first volume was *The Season: A Satire*, on current manners and morals. It had a distinctly cordial reception, and a second edition was soon called for. He made his way to Italy and drank in the inspiration of that land of poets. His own muse slumbered, but he learned to speak Italian and frequented the galleries, public and private, till he was able to carry away a visual recollection of every statue and picture of note. He found Shelley's tomb, 'lichen-covered and grass-invaded,' and had it cleaned and planted round with pansies and violets. This homage won for him the friendship of the poet's son and Lady Shelley. Mr. Austin has a genius for friendship, and he has much to tell of Thomas Adolphus Trollope and the literary and artistic circle in which he moved at Florence. It was an introduction given him there by a friend that led to his marriage in 1865 to Miss Hester Mulock, whom George Eliot called an ideal poet's wife. Next year his work as leader-writer in the *Standard* opened to him a new world of interests. He represented the paper at the Prussian head quarters during the Franco-German War, and has a good deal to tell of Bismarck, Lord Beaconsfield, the Marquis of Salisbury and other celebrities. Lord Salisbury honoured him with special confidence, and we are grateful for some most interesting glimpses of the great statesman. Nothing in the book is more pleasant than the account of his visits to Tennyson at Aldworth. It was Nature, even more than poetry, that bound them together, and a branch of Poet's Bay which had been given Mr. Austin when he visited Delphi, was laid in Tennyson's coffin with Lady Tennyson's roses and the little volume of Shakespeare that was at his bedside when he died. Mr. Austin went to see George Eliot at St. John's Wood, where he found her surrounded by an atmosphere almost of awe. She astonished her visitor by maintaining that the British Government in India had no right to prevent widows from immolating themselves on the death of their husbands, or to interfere with the Car of Juggernaut.

'When we got into the open air, I said to my wife, "In politics, and all practical affairs, 'that way madness lies.'"' She heartily agreed with me.' Lord Wolseley has been one of Mr. Austin's close friends, and of him and Mr. Chamberlain these volumes have much to say. Cardinal Newman's strange denial of his words about the promoters of Papal Infallibility as an insolent and aggressive faction, and Mr. Goschen's decision to accept the great office which Lord Randolph Churchill had resigned, are two of the historic incidents of this most readable autobiography.

Principles of Biography. By Sir Sidney Lee. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

Sir Sidney Lee chose a subject of wide interest for his Leslie Stephen Lecture, and the work to which almost the whole of his adult life has been devoted gave him a special right to handle it. Biography exists to gratify the commemorative instinct, to keep alive the memories of those who by character and exploits stand out from the mass of mankind. Successful biography requires fit theme and fit treatment. The theme must be serious and of a certain magnitude. Current fame is no sure test of biographic fitness. 'The tumult and the shouting die, and they may leave nothing behind which satisfies the biographic tests of completeness, seriousness, and magnitude.' When he has found a fit theme the biographer must treat it with candour. The perils of suppression and extenuation have to be avoided, and there lies no small danger. Sir Sidney does not look with favour on those laborious biographies which are styled 'the life and times.' The methods of Plutarch are specially considered, and Boswell's unique triumph, which illustrates to perfection many features of first importance to right biographic method. Its salt was the literal report of Johnson's conversation, its candour robs the tendency to idolatry of its familiar mischiefs. Boswell does not efface himself. 'He envelops himself in the spirit of his theme; he stands in its shadow and never in its light.' In addition to all this he was an industrious collector of information. Lockhart's *Life of Scott* is the second best biography in the language, but here Sir Walter himself provided much of the raw material by his journals and correspondence. The art of the biographer is one that calls for patience and insight. Unfit themes must be avoided; fit themes must be treated 'with scrupulous accuracy, with perfect frankness, with discriminating sympathy and with resolute brevity.' The world will owe a debt to the lecturer if his counsels are adopted as working rules by all generations of biographers.

Elkanah Settle: His Life and Works. By F. C. Brown. (Chicago University Press. 5s. net.)

This work, issued by the Chicago University Press, is an elaborate study of the Poet of the City of London, who is best remembered by his controversy with Dryden. Careful research into the life of Settle shows that he sprang from a family of barber-chirurgeons at Hemel Hempstead. He was born at Dunstable in 1647, became a King's Scholar at Westminster

in 1668, and entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1666. There he wrote his play *Cambyses*, which D'Avenant's company played in the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields as their first new play after the Fire. Its success led to his removal to London, where he became an idol of fashion for five or six years. In 1670 *The Empress of Morocco* won 'the most enthusiastic applause of a brilliant court.' The attack made on him by Dryden only increased Settle's reputation. *The Female Prelate*, a violent attack on the See of Rome, was received with unbounded applause by the Whigs in 1680. He was now busy writing political poems and pamphlets, and about 1691 was made 'city poet.' He had to prepare the pageants for the Lord Mayors' shows. He became one of the brethren at Charterhouse in 1718 and died there in 1724. He is described as 'a man of tall stature, red face, short black hair.' Mr. Brown gives a full account of the poet's 'Autograph remains,' his 'Quarrels and Controversies,' his various 'Works,' including his poems and city pageants. Illustrations of the title-pages add much to the interest of this careful monograph, and there is a very full biography. It is a piece of work which does credit to the University of Chicago.

Jottings from an Indian Journal. (Jarrold & Sons. 2s. net.)

These extracts from the journals and letters of the late Sir John Field, K.C.B., are somewhat homely and uneventful, but we gain from them many details as to the first Afghan War in 1841, when the writer shared the strain of the long march to Candahar. The thermometer registered 110° in his tent. He got two labourers to deepen his hut so that he might bury himself five or six feet underground and thus escape the heat. There is also an interesting chapter on the Abyssinian Expedition in 1867, and many entries show the Christian zeal of the writer. In 1855 he helped Lieutenant Havelock, who had lost his faith through reading an infidel book. 'I have much hope for poor Havelock, he is very unhappy and not hardened in unbelief.' His hope was not disappointed. Sir John Field loved all kinds of evangelistic work, and this book shows what success he had in leading others into the light.

The Tragedy of Quebec. By Robert Sellar. Third Edition. (Toronto: Ontario Press.)

Mr. Sellar is alarmed at the attempt being made to shape the destiny of the Dominion to suit a body of ecclesiastics, and thinks the most effective means of severing the roots which interlace Church and State is 'the adoption of the laws now in force in France with regard to religious associations, making such changes in them as the differing circumstances of Canada require.' The influence of the monastic system in Quebec is 'a potent instrument in the hands of the bishops to crush the will of the people and control our public men.' Mr. Sellar recognizes the danger to the Dominion arising from the state of affairs in Quebec, and insists on the enactment of equal rights which can only be secured by equal laws. The book deserves the attention of all who are specially interested in Canadian affairs.

GENERAL

Social Solutions. By Thomas C. Hall. (C. H. Kelly.
7s. 6d. net.)

THE Professor of Christian Ethics in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, has evidently a 'free' pen. Unlike many professors who teach Christian ethics in English Theological Colleges, he does not think it his duty to ignore or evade social ethics. In more than thirty short lectures Prof. Hall surveys, from the point of view of Christian ethics, political economy, individualism, socialism, anarchy, single tax, education, the home, and charity. His position is that in the social outlook of Jesus 'our relation to God would be that of loving, well-ordered children, and our relation to one another that of loving members of one family, caring for each other as a man cares for his own.' 'The tremendously radical character of such teaching,' says the writer, 'has hardly dawned upon us yet. Its implications would revolutionize conduct and belief at almost every point.' He further adds that 'the teachings of Jesus are still revolutionary. We could not make Matthew's constitution of the Kingdom of God (Sermon on the Mount) the statute law of the United States without an entire change of our Government, both in its purposes and machinery. Yet we want, as Christians, to make that constitution the law of all human life.' Hence we demand of the individual 'conversion.' Not less are we working to the 'conversion' of the State, and an entire devotion of the corporate life to the life of God.

The writer covers much ground with these truths and ideals in full view all the way. His judgements may not commend themselves always to every reader, nor may they always be exhaustively discussed, but they are eminently informed, illuminating, trenchant and suggestive. His knowledge of English religion and sometimes of the political situation is now and then defective, but never seriously so.

Prof. Hall is wisely averse to the Christian Church committing herself to any social order as final, but he is, on the whole, hostile to the present order. 'The Kingdom dream' must govern Christian action, and all effort be directed to its realization as the reign of love in social as in individual life. A Christian democracy will be one of love, service, duty, never one of mere rights and privileges. The writer confesses that he is 'still feeling the way towards a definite policy of social readjustment.' His criticism of the various policies propounded by enthusiasts will not please partisans, but they are generally sound and will assist Christian seekers for social truth to clarity of vision.

The book closes with some very sane and fresh words upon the social possibilities of the modern Church. 'The Church must organize her young

people for doing things. She might, without committing herself to any political party, organize her young men to watch all parties, to understand their workings from the Kingdom point of vantage, and to co-operate with them as far as they make for righteousness.'

Altogether the book is most helpful to all intelligent and not violently biassed readers, to those who earnestly seek a Christian 'way out.' The value of this useful book is further increased by a well-selected bibliography and a good index.

Two Centuries of the English Novel. By Harold Williams, M.A. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

The development of the English novel is clearly set out in this enjoyable book. The period covered is from Defoe to the present time, and Mr. Williams has tried to name all the writers of the first or second order who come within it. In the romance the chief interest centres in the narrative, the succession of episodes, incidents, and adventures; in the novel narrative is less important than the artistic and critical expression of individual character and common experience. Keeping this distinction in mind, we find the general outlines of the novel sketched in the *Spectator's* papers on Sir Roger de Coverley and his friends. After this introductory chapter we have a set of studies beginning with Defoe which give the salient biographical facts and a critique of each author's work. A list of each writer's novels is given at the end of the chapters. The judgements will commend themselves to a thoughtful reader, and Mr. Williams puts everything in the clearest and most pleasant way. The chapter on George Meredith is excellent. He 'must be taken as the teacher, as well as the novelist, pure and simple: . . . While yet almost in his teens he grappled with pessimism and conquered it. He always retained a healthy human optimism, because he early realized that the chief end of life was not a certain answer to the speculative questions of the mind, but work, usefulness, service; and, further, he was imbued with a splendid confidence in human nature, in the natural, healthy, vital emotions and impulses of men and women.' We are glad to see *The Cloister and the Hearth* described as 'one of the greatest historical novels in any language,' and justice is done to Anthony Trollope's 'shrewd powers of observation, his vigour, and the unfailing veracity of his characterizations.' This book should not be overlooked by those who value good fiction.

Ceylon Buddhism: being the Collected Writings of Daniel John Gogerly. Edited by Arthur Stanley Bishop. (Colombo, Wesleyan Methodist Book Room.)

Prof. Rhys Davids says in his 'Forewords' to this second volume of Mr. Gogerly's writings that it amazes him that the necessary steps have not been taken long ago to put them within the reach of scholars. He

regards Gogerly as the greatest Pali scholar of his age. At the time when there was no grammar of the language, no dictionary, and no printed texts, he mastered the language so thoroughly that he could not only read the MSS., but interpret their contents in English for the guidance of others. He 'attacked the difficult texts and the deeper sort of problems,' and his work is the basis of much of the best done since his time. This is high praise from the Professor of Pali and Buddhist literature in University College, who has 'always had a high and affectionate regard' for Gogerly's memory. He also pays just tribute to the intelligence and skill with which Mr. Bishop has edited the works. The editor supplies a brief 'Biographical Note,' which gives the chief facts of Gogerly's life. He was born in London in 1792 and went out to Colombo in 1818 to take charge of the Methodist Mission Press. He became a Wesleyan missionary in 1828 and died in 1868, having never left Ceylon since he landed there in 1818. His writings made a great impression on thinking Buddhists. We noticed the first volume on its appearance in 1908, and the papers gathered together in this volume are of great interest to students of Ceylon Buddhism. 'The Virtue of Almsgiving' is a translation from the discourses of Buddha; there is a selection of passages from the first sermon in the series attributed to Buddha, and much other matter of great importance. We are grateful to Mr. Bishop for such an act of justice to a great scholar and a devoted missionary.

The Future of Africa. By Donald Fraser. (Young People's Missionary Movement. 2s. net.)

This is the fifth text-book issued for the use of Study Circles. It deals solely with pagan Africa and mission work among the pagan races of Central and South Africa. The account of 'Early Discovery' and Romanist missions is of great interest, but the interest heightens as we come to the opening up of Africa by Mungo Park, David Livingstone, and H. M. Stanley. Young readers will find this a fascinating chapter. Then we trace the influence of Europe in Africa and see the results of our colonization. The state of the native tribes with their beliefs and customs furnish material for another good chapter. The story of mission work is told and its results succinctly stated. The two closing chapters describe the needs of Africa and the Church's task. The book is well illustrated, and is admirably adapted for the use of a Study Circle. It is a happy sign of the times to see the eagerness for exact knowledge as to the needs of the world, and nothing could meet the demand better than this text-book.

The Young People's Missionary Movement has also had a very full and instructive set of six outlines prepared for the teacher of a Mission Study Circle, with an outline map of Africa and two sheets of missionary pictures of African scenes. There is also a modelling outfit for making an African grass hut. The whole costs about half-a-crown. Young people will be greatly interested in the lectures and still more in the delightful occupation given by the modelling outfit.

The Young People. By One of the Old People. (Macmillan & Co.)

This is a new edition with an additional paper entitled, 'The Run of the Streets,' which was read before the Annual Conference of the Parents' National Educational Union. This is quite as fresh and suggestive as the rest. Mr. Paget would let children feel that London belongs to them. 'London is mine. These are my streets, my parks, treasures, monuments, and cathedrals.' The churches are included, but the pleasure of sight-seeing there is to be founded on the habit of church-going. 'I believe that compulsory church-going is of great value for the education of children. Silence, discipline, reverence, humility, and self-judgement may be learned by them in church under more favourable conditions than are generally afforded in the schoolroom. Besides, it is a distinct advantage for them to attain these virtues in company, not in isolation.' London makes the children 'look; then, she makes them think; last, she makes them help.' These young philanthropists find life beset with duties. Many of them are girls. 'There never was a time when they were so practical, thorough-going, and methodical in their London ministry.' The style of the book may be judged from these sentences. It is brimfull of vivacity and human interest. We are not able to agree with what Mr. Paget recommends as to 'Sunday in London' and 'Sunday out,' but he insists that worship shall not be neglected and is not blind to the danger of allowing young people to be vagrant on Sunday mornings. The danger is greater than he realizes, and we hope these chapters will not lead some to indulge in Sunday sight-seeing.

A New Rome. A Study of Visible Unity among non-Papal Christians. By Richard de Bary. (Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. de Bary thinks that 'the course of events has led the existing Roman Church into subtle home developments that make the appeal of the Papacy, as custodian of the grace of the Atonement, untranslatable to half the human race.' He was thus brought to believe that there must be 'a supplementary Mission of the Spirit without the Roman fold.' The experiences in Canada and the United States which prepared him to take this position are described in a way that enlists the reader's sympathy for one who felt himself drifting from 'a strictly legal and authoritative Rome,' but it makes us conscious that he is still under the influence of Roman teaching. He did not dream of any mere extension of Rome in America, but of 'a gathering of all the Christian communions, by the Holy Ghost, into a vast and free inter-relationship and inter-communion, with the free institutions of America as its harbinger, with Old Rome and its model of the city idea of a Church as its guide.' In thinking over the subject, Mr. de Bary has 'always assumed that each particular Communion was as true, and as devout, and as filled with the Spirit as every other

Communion.' Experience as a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was followed by work in a London parish. He has thus been led to form his scheme for promoting unity. It is arranged under four heads: Universal Order, World Mission, Faith, Worship. The Evangelical Christian Communions 'might be conceded their own distinctive organizations, and enjoy self-government on condition (1) that 'several of their officials,' duly qualified, should accept ordination and consecration as bishops to become the ministers of the Grace of Unity, without reflecting on their own existing ministry of the Grace of Salvation.' (2) That Evangelicals would agree to add to their creeds the words: 'I believe in a visible Unity by the Holy Ghost.' 'Whosoever could accept this supplementary Act of faith would be duly qualified for accepting, in its plenitude of meaning, the institution of a ministry of the Grace of Unity, namely an episcopate, not as inherently necessary for conversion, but as inherently necessary for the purpose of unifying the people of God in a single sovereign order persisting from Pentecost to the Last Day.' The scheme shows that Mr. de Bary has gained a large measure of catholicity, but Protestant Churches do not believe in unity in any sense that would make them willing to sacrifice their own complete independence, with all it means for vigorous usefulness, or discredit in any way their own orders. Unity is much to be desired, but it would simply breed mischief if the sacerdotal spirit were not first cast out from the minds of those who were to be knit together. Of that we see small hope in this interesting book.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English. Adapted by H. W. Fowler and H. G. Fowler, from *The Oxford Dictionary*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

This compact volume is a treasure which all students of words will greatly prize. The masterpiece on which it is based has advanced so far towards completion that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have been able to authorize the issue of this volume. It gives special attention to common words which many dictionaries pass over in a line or two because they are so plain and simple, whereas they are 'entangled with other words in so many alliances and antipathies during their perpetual knocking about the world that the idiomatic use of them is far from easy.' Prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and such words as hand, way, go and put, are set in quite a new light; illustrative sentences are given from the stores of the *Oxford Dictionary*. Space for this fuller treatment is gained by severe economy of expression and skilful abbreviation. 2082 columns in very clear though small type give room for really adequate treatment. Some words have a column or more to themselves; 'go' fills two columns; 'put' and 'way' have almost as ample room. Special attention is given to derivations, and we have spent some pleasant moments in testing and consulting it here. We strongly recommend every one to secure this Dictionary. Whatever other they may possess this will be a distinct acquisition, and daily use will make it more and more indispensable.

Theory and Practice of Foreign Missions. By James M. Buckley.

Growth of the Missionary Concept. By John F. Goucher.
(New York : Eaton & Mains. 75 cents net each.)

Both these lectures were delivered at Syracuse University on the Nathan Graves Foundation, and both are of vital interest for missionary students and administrators. Dr. Buckley has been for many years one of the leaders of missionary thought in his own church, and his book gathers up the fruits of long study and observation. He deals with the Basis of Foreign Missions; Methods, Means, and Men of Christian Missions; Hindrances and Helps to Missions; What of the Present and the Future of Foreign Missions? The three pillars on which Christian Missions rest are Philanthropy, Recompense, the Commands and Prayers of Christ. The treatment of these subjects is broad-minded and strongly evangelical. The survey of the Christian world, in the second lecture, is divided into three parts: The Latin or Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Church, and the Protestant Church. Special attention is then given to such topics as the selection of missionaries, their celibacy or marriage, and modern aids in mission work. The third lecture, after a careful study of the claims of other religions, reaches the conclusion that Christianity will become the dominant religion in all the earth. Everything is so sanely and so reasonably put that this volume will be read with growing interest and will leave its readers with a stronger faith in the triumph of the Kingdom of Christ. Dr. Goucher's lectures are chiefly concerned with China. He describes Robert Morrison's pioneer work in a most instructive way, and then tells the story of Judson Dwight Collins, who was born in the state of New York in 1828, and sailed with Mr. and Mrs. White as the first Methodist missionaries to China in 1847. The growth of Christianity in China since that time is impressively sketched, and the strategic importance of the Empire and the obligations of the West to send it the gospel are clearly stated. The fourth lecture shows, by many touching illustrations, how indispensable Christianity is to the East, whilst the last brings out the fact that the world's railways have really become highways by which light is spreading into the dark places of the earth. Two such books as these, so well informed, so catholic in temper, and so quietly enthusiastic ought to bear much missionary fruit.

Missionary Ideals. By the Rev. T. Walker, M.A. (Church Missionary Society. 1s. net). These studies in the Acts of the Apostles are intended for Bible classes and Study circles. After some valuable 'Suggestions for Study' we have six chapters: God's Missionary Plan; The Missionary's Adversary; A Missionary Centre; A Missionary Designate; A Missionary Campaign; A Missionary Problem. Two or three pages are added to each chapter on 'Preparation,' including some good questions on the subject of the chapter. Mr. Walker is a missionary in Tinnevely who uses his experiences in India to throw light on the labours of the apostles. It is a very bright and helpful book.

Talk of the Town. By Mrs. John Lane. (John Lane. 6s.)

Mrs. Lane looks on London life with a keen eye for all that provokes wholesome laughter. She opens her battery against 'the Tyranny of Clothes,' but students of present-day fashions will feel that she has not said enough. She is a little rough on 'Adam,' though he does not escape the tyranny of the box hat. 'The London Bus' is an amusing little comedy of manners, as seen in that true republic. 'The Tragedy of the "Ex,"' with its glimpses of those who have outlived beauty and power, has a pathos of its own. Some good stories are gathered up in 'The Craze for Collecting,' and every paper has food for mirth not unmixed with a sigh over human foibles and follies. 'The American and his Holiday' supplies some racy material. 'The American people's motto of life is unquestionably "Get your money's worth, and don't waste time," and it permeates their pleasure as well as their toil.' The lady who cheated the revenue officers by smuggling in a Louis XVI tea-set from France, only to discover an exact copy on sale in New York for ten dollars less than she had paid for hers in Paris, makes a lively story. There is a good chapter on Brighton, and one that carries us to Biskra, the gateway of the Desert. The book is one for a holiday, and it would be a dull day which these spicy pages could not brighten.

Medical Revolution. By Sydney W. Macilwaine, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (King & Son. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Macilwaine thinks that the whole system of medicine needs to be set in order. There is no longer 'any justification for interpreting some of the processes of disease on an artificial system, now that the natural method based on causation has been recognized.' He holds that every true disease represents a series of symptom-groups always correlated with one cause; every spurious disease represents a series of symptom-groups that are not of determinate and similar causation. The specialist treats symptoms, not the patient. In the vast majority of cases he does not trace the causation of symptoms, but labels them and at once proceeds to cure. 'As far as the hospital is concerned, the causes that are operating in the slums go on, not only unchecked but undiscovered, unsought; the constitutions of their patients may be built up or broken down by their surroundings, it is not taken into account.' It is a book that every medical man will want to discuss, and its argument appears to us very strong and full of promise of progress in the great art of healing.

Every Boy's Book of Railways and Steamships. By Ernest Protheroe. With coloured plates and numerous other illustrations. (R.T.S. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is a splendid book for boys. It gives a clear account of the construction of the locomotive, and traces its invention and development, with that of the ocean steamship, in a way that every reader will appreciate.

The wonderful runs of the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania* are well described. A good general idea is given of the working of a railway, and the precautions needed in time of fog will be better understood by those who turn to the interesting chapters on 'How a railway is worked.' The book is sure of an enthusiastic circle of readers, and both letterpress and illustrations are excellent.

The Song Companion to the Scriptures. Compiled by the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. Words 3d., words and music 8s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.)

Dr. Campbell Morgan has prepared this hymn-book to meet the needs of assemblies gathered specifically for the study of the Bible. The plan is purely biblical, and there is a large selection of hymns on the Word of God. There are many new tunes, but scarcely any has been granted a place which has not been proved by use from manuscript copies. In some cases the natural harmonies of the original editions have been restored. The *Te Deum* is set to three chants which give appropriate music for the various parts. Jackson's *Te Deum* is also given. The arrangement of the Psalms and Canticles is very helpful for the singer, and the whole book, with its rich variety of hymns and tunes, is a happy sign of the progress made by the Bible movement at Mundesley and at Westminster Chapel.

Strange Siberia. By Marcus L. Taft. (New York : Eaton & Mains. \$1 net.)

This is a living description of a journey across Siberia. Dr. Taft travelled by rail with his wife and daughter from China to St. Petersburg, keeping his eyes open to the beauties of the woods and flowers and stopping at important points to study the life of the people at close range. His descriptions of Mukden, Harbin, Irkutsk and Tomsk are of great interest, and some valuable information is given in the chapter on 'The Jews in Russia.' The book is brightly written and very well illustrated.

Going about the Country with your Eyes open. By Owen Jones and Marcus Woodward. Illustrated by T. Peddie. (C. A. Pearson. 2s. net.)

There is much in this book that every lover of woods and fields will be glad to know. It shows the ways of game and of gamekeepers; it tells us how to call birds and beasts, and gives many hints as to the way in which to stalk a fox and to understand when an animal is in fear. The book represents much patient watching, and it will teach its readers to use their eyes and ears, and give new zest to a country ramble. Every boy will prize such a companion.

The Book of the English Oak. By Charles Hurst. (Lynwood & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Hurst is as enthusiastic about the planting of oaks as Admiral Collingwood, from whose letters he gives some pleasant extracts. He has wandered about England with a stock of acorns finding congenial soil in which to put them, and enlisting farmers and others in the work. The story of his travels is told with manifest relish. We should have liked still more about oaks, though the photographs of the fine specimens in the eastern counties are very attractive, and the list of oaks in the Midlands and the south of England will be scanned with interest by all who love the king of trees.

Burns Poems published in 1786. (Frowde, 2s. 6d.) This is a reprint in type-facsimile of the Poems printed at Kilmarnock, by John Wilson. Burns said in his Preface that 'though a Rhymer from his earliest years, at least from the earliest impulses of the softer passions, it was not till very lately, that the applause, perhaps the partiality, of Friendship, awakened his vanity so far as to make him think anything of his was worth printing.' It was a time of 'emotional storm and stress' with Burns, and his muse was very prolific. 'Halloween' and 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' are here, and the little volume which gave Burns his rank as a national poet will always appeal strongly to students. This is a very tasteful reprint and a great addition to the Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry.

The Morse Lecture for 1910, by the Rev. S. S. Henshaw, on *The Romance of our Sunday Schools* (Hammond, 1s. net), is the first attempt to tell the story of Primitive Methodist Sunday Schools. It begins with the school opened at Tunstall in 1811, and traces the growth and development from that time to the present. The chief workers are sketched, and the story is told in a way to excite interest and help on the cause which lies so near to the lecturer's heart. It is a thoroughly readable book.

In *Butterflies, and how to identify them* (Kelly, 1s. net), the Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, M.A., gives just the help that a young naturalist needs as to where to find the larvae of butterflies, how to 'set' a specimen, and particulars as to the seventy-one British species. The illustrations and lists of species, the coloured frontispiece, and the pages for notes make this a perfect little guide and companion.

Children's Gardens, by Mrs. M. E. Webb (1d.), belongs to Mr. Greening's 'One and All Garden Books.' It is so clear that small boys and girls will understand it, and they will get many a hint which they can use to good purpose. Day schools will find it an admirable guide for their children.

All the shilling libraries are good, but Messrs. Macmillan cannot be beaten. The four new volumes are all books that one wants to have, and the number of editions through which they have gone is itself a diploma of merit. The titles speak for themselves: *A Poor Man's House*, by Stephen Reynolds; *The Intellectual Life*, by P. G. Hamerton; *Letters from Hell*, with a preface by George MacDonald, who thought them full of truth as to

'the realities of our relations to God and man and duty,' and *South Sea Bubbles*, by the Earl and the Doctor. The volumes are strongly bound in crimson cloth, and the type is bold and clear.

The two volumes of *Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand* (Wellington: John Mackay) have been prepared with the greatest skill and care under Government authority, and will be invaluable for those who wish to know everything about the trade, population, education, law, crime, &c., of the Dominion.

The Problem of Unity. (Robert Scott. 1s 6d. net.)

This volume contains addresses delivered or papers read at the sixty-third annual Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Dublin. They view the subject of unity from many sides as it affects the churches at home and on the mission field, in relation to Eastern lands, to the Church of Rome, and to Jews and Jewish missions. The Rev. Dinsdale T. Young contributes two forcible papers on 'The Problem of Unity in relation to Unity and Doctrine,' and 'in relation to Unity and Evangelization.' He points out that Evangelical Christians to-day hold a grand cluster of doctrines in common, and insists that God's truth must not be sold in the supposed interests of Unity. In his second paper he shows that 'when we have controversies we separate from one another; when we evangelize we unite.' The book is full of food for thought, and many will be grateful for it.

Glorious Comprehensiveness. By an Oxford Priest. (Cope & Fenwick. 1s.)

The writer holds that an 'Ecclesia Anglicana,' re-united to the See of Peter, is the way out of the present difficulties of the Church of England. He maintains that 'glorious comprehensiveness' has led to actual division and veiled schism, paralysed the episcopal office, and wrought many other evils. The writer's sympathies are manifestly with Rome, and his book shows the urgent need of vigilance on the part of all Protestants. Such an argument from within the Church of England is a sadly significant sign of the mischief working there.

A Pathfinder in South Central Africa. By Rev. William Chapman. (Hammond. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Chapman has done splendid service as pioneer of the Primitive Methodist Mission north of the Zambesi. He tells his story well, and there are some thrilling adventures with lions, buffaloes, and deadly snakes. The writer's courage and calm self-possession come out in many an incident. His chapters on the religious beliefs and customs of the Baita are of real value, and the book is full of spirit.

Bacon is alive! by Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S. (Hull: Brown & Sons. 1s. net), is a Presidential address to the Hull Shakespeare Society which pokes fun at Sir E. Durning-Lawrence's *Bacon is Shakespeare*. The address must have greatly amused those who heard it.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The *Edinburgh Review* (July-September) has an article on *The English Church of To-day*, full of friendly home-thrusts for Churchmen. In the tediousness of the modern pulpit the writer finds one of the reasons for the emptiness of the pew. He thinks that as a rule Nonconformist ministers are much better educated and more up to date than the clergy. 'It is humiliating to reflect that for one Anglican clergyman who has read or is capable of estimating such a book, *e. g.*, as Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, there are in all probability ten Nonconformists who have studied it, preached on it, and possess a working knowledge of the literature and the tendencies which it represents.' As to the relations between the free and established Churches, he says: 'If, in addition to an interchange of pulpits, such as exists in Scotland, Nonconformists were encouraged to communicate in their parish churches at Easter, the separation would be nominal, and the separatist temper near its end. The step taken in this direction by the Bishop of Hereford is one of the happiest signs of the times. Convocation, however, acted with regard to it *more suo*; and the Primate, of whom better things might have been expected, missed a great opportunity by coming down—not, it seems, without hesitation—on the wrong side of the fence.' The root of the mischief he finds in the hard-and-fast theory of Apostolical Succession and all that it connotes. We cut ourselves off from communions, he says, with which we have a natural sympathy to link ourselves with those who emphatically repudiate us. 'It is only too certain that if this movement goes on, what has happened in the Latin Church will happen to us—the alienation of the educated laity.' There is also an admirable study of *The Mind of Pascal*, in which the substance of much recent literature is gathered round that great and splendid name. From the *Pensées*, says the writer, we might construct the code of the 'honnête homme'—the commandments of the gentleman! '(1) Never speak of self; (2) Never repeat what you hear; (3) Be ready to take trouble on slight occasions; (4) Be sparing of excuses and apologies; (5) Claim no precedence on private or interior merits; (6) Be neither Sir Oracle nor buffoon; (7) Be sincere; (8) Be generous; (9) Be staunch and have the reputation for it. And, if you do all this and no more than this (as Pascal remarked to a young man of quality), you will certainly lose your life eternal, but at least you will be damned like a gentleman.' Of Pascal's relation to Port Royal, it is well observed that: 'In a page of the *Provinciales* often quoted against Pascal, he had exclaimed: 'I am not of Port Royal . . . I am alone.' It was no prevarication, thrown like a handful of dust in an enemy's eyes. Pascal had loved and served Port Royal; but his nature was essentially solitary. That great, passionate, avid soul—which he tried so often, so

vainly, to satisfy with various interests—was too large to be contained in the narrow bounds of any chapel, of any sect or company, “because this infinite gulf can only be filled by an infinite and immutable object—that is to say, by God Himself.”

In addition to the sparkling paper on *The Greek Anthology*, by G. B. Grundy, and the critical paper on Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, by Edward Clodd, there are two articles of much interest in the July *Quarterly Review*; the one on *Lord Acton's Historical Work*, by Prof. Fisher, and the other on *Irish Plays and Playwrights*, by Charles Tennyson. After a tribute to the genius and industry of Lord Acton, the writer gives a detailed and careful estimate, especially of his later works. Acton, he says, was a savant, not of the English but of the newest and most scientific German type, and yet ‘with none of the narrowness which marks much of the learned work in Germany, for he was a specialist not only in one but in many periods of history.’ He was not a philosopher in the technical sense of the term. ‘The natural proclivity of his mind was to cite authority rather than to risk an adventure of reason. But if he was not a metaphysician, his prime interest in history was metaphysical. It was the idea that mattered.’ Much is made of his detachment of mind and of his impartiality. ‘He was a Catholic, but a critical Catholic; an Englishman, but a cosmopolitan Englishman. No historian of a strong religious temperament has ever stood so near the centre of judicial indifference.’ Speaking of Acton's lectures on the French Revolution, the writer says: ‘The ruling thought of these lectures is the essential incompatibility of liberty and equality. The Revolution, aiming at equality, or government by the poor, payment by the rich, missed the priceless boon of freedom. Democracy without the safeguard of a multiplicity of checking forces inevitably turns to tyranny.’ In his attractive paper, Mr. Tennyson remarks on the curious fact that ‘until the twentieth century Ireland should have had no dramatic literature of its own. Her people are born actors; they have delighted from the earliest times in a form of conventional dialogue; and the best acting plays that have been written in England since the Restoration are the work of Irishmen—Sheridan, Goldsmith, Wilde, and Shaw.’ After a luminous account of the present ‘Celtic Revival’ in its literary, and especially in its dramatic, aspects he concludes: ‘It may be that Ireland is not fated to lead the peccant multitudes of Europe back from the cares of the flesh and its material ambitions to the glory and wonder of the morning world. But, whatever its destiny, the Irish movement may well rest content with having given to our stage the aerial purity of Mr. W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory's rich humanity, and the harsh, sweet, abundant genius of John Millington Synge.’

The most striking article in the July number of the *Dublin Review* is an historical study based on Renan's *Marcus Aurelius*, by Canon William Barry, entitled *Catholicism and the Spirit of the East*. The gist of it may be gathered from the following sentences: ‘Why did Christian Rome prove stronger than the Rome of Marcus Aurelius? It was because philosophers could not give the people a religion; nor the Stoics do away with super-

stition; nor the law create morality; nor art and culture satisfy the soul; nor the emperor's "Meditations" bring men strength and joy like the Gospel.' The brilliant canon calls his closing word 'a hope and an aspiration': 'From no quarter of the sky does one gleam appear which might herald the dawn of a religion more human or more spiritual than the Roman faith. New theologies are shown to be old Eastern fancies, wanting the secret of the Incarnation, and therefore as inhuman as the dreams of Valentinus. . . . Civilized nations cannot hope to survive, any more than the Roman Empire of seventeen hundred years ago, by relying on law, culture, art, material wealth, or even ethical philosophy, without religion. The West cannot live as it ought unless it bows to the wisdom of the East. And our hope is that every spirit touched to fine issues, desirous that civilization shall be more than a painted surface, will recognize in the Papacy its guardian and defence.' The Papacy itself seems, however, to be destroying its own influence.

In the *Contemporary* for July, Prof. Hobhouse, of Manchester University, describing his visit to the United States, gives a most valuable account of 'The New Spirit' that is arising in that great country. The Americans, he says, are animated, above all things, by a desire for 'pre-eminence in the ways of social justice and the arts of humane living.' They are deeply discontented with things as they are, and are in full revolt against the domination of capital. They have become intensely sensitive to political corruption, and 'the men of intellect and education have entirely thrown off their indifference to public affairs.' 'How to make the great industrial, commercial, and financial forces the servants and not the masters of society is the problem which, in one shape or another, confronts every modern nation,' and in America, especially in the universities, the problem is being faced with courage and success. 'In most American universities the sociological side is developed to an extent undreamt of in England. Economics, political science, and general sociology are represented, and the studies of social legislation and practical questions of social reform have special professors or assistants. . . . What the universities think to-day the United States will think to-morrow; and the universities are thinking in terms of a heightened social consciousness, and a singularly broad and generous interpretation of social duty and the common good. . . . There, as here, men are emancipating themselves from the formulae of individualism, awaking to the danger of commercialism, giving rein to a new and enlarged sense of common responsibility, realizing the more concrete meaning of liberty. The energy, the intelligence, the astounding practical capacity which have hitherto been expended on material development and commercial aims are beginning to apply themselves to something infinitely more worthy, and the time may not be far distant when the deep-seated pride of American patriotism will centre not on the vastness of territory or on colossal figures of population, trade, and commerce, but on pre-eminence in the ways of social justice and the arts of humane living.'

In the *Fortnightly* for August, Mr. L. Higgin discourses pleasantly on 'Spanish Novelists of To-day,' particularly on José Maria de Pereda, Don

Pedro A. de Alcarón, and Juan Valera. The last named is said to stand head and shoulders above all others since he took the world by storm with his *Pepita Jimenez*, so finely translated in 'Heinemann's International Library' in 1891. 'His work shows in every page the result of his wide experience of life and of literature in many other countries besides his own.' He is said to be 'a sincerely believing Catholic, content to abide by the doctrines of his Church himself, while tolerant in his judgement of those who do not. Like most Spanish novelists, he appears to despise literary form in construction, while as a master of style he has no equal.' The great fault of all these writers is said to be characteristic of the nation: 'they spoil good work by didactic intention. The unregenerate reader, like the child-hearer of tales written with a moral intent, revolts against the medicine concealed in the jam, and generally sympathizes with the people who are intended to be held up to reprobation.'

The Cornhill for August contains a beautiful appreciation of Charles Kingsley by Mr. A. C. Benson. 'He passed into the presence of God,' says the writer, 'having lived in his small span of existence the life of ten men of ordinary mould. . . . He was a democrat in surplice and hood. He was not a revolutionary at all; he believed with all his heart in labour and order, equal opportunities, and due subordination; he did not wish to destroy the framework of society, but to animate it throughout with appropriate responsibility. But he was far more than this; he was a poet from head to heel, and all his work, verse or prose, sermon or scientific lecture, was done in the spirit of the poet. . . . But he was not content with a splendid optimism of heart and voice, such as Browning practised; he had a strong combative element, which could have made him an enthusiastic pirate if he had not been a parson. He had that note of high greatness—the power of tormenting himself into a kind of frenzy at all patient and stupid acquiescence in remediable evil. . . . He saw a world full of splendid chances, crammed with entertainment and work for all, and yet in a horrible mess. He wanted to put it all straight, beginning with the drains, and yet never forgetting the Redemption.' The paper is one of a fine series of biographical sketches that is running in this delightful monthly.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The leading article in this number contains portions of an Old-Latin text of the Catholic Epistles from the Perpignan MS. known as *p*. The first article in *Notes and Studies* is by Rev. Martin Rule, a continuation of his critical examination of the *Missale Francorum*. Dr. Montagu James discusses the relation between the two texts of the Apocalypse of Peter, and Dr. Souter of Mansfield College deals with the type or types of gospel texts used by Jerome as the basis of his revision. Prof. Nestle gives a translation of a catalogue of the Georgian MSS. in the library of the Iberian monastery on Mount Athos, and Mr. Israel Abrahams contributes to the discussion of the question 'How did Jews baptize?' his own view that it was by total immersion. It is curious to find amongst these erudite papers a prolonged investigation into the history and meaning of a revival hymn containing the phrase 'Cast your deadly doing down,' which occasioned controversy some years ago.

The Expositor (July and August).—Dr. Rendel Harris continues his inquiry into the date and origin of the *Odes of Solomon*, saying that he never remembers 'a problem in criticism more obscure or more difficult to resolve.' It is passing strange that Dr. Bernard should be persuaded that the Odes are all Christian and for the most part baptismal hymns, while Harnack holds that they are Jewish, and other critics are busy proving their affinity with Philo on the one hand and St. John on the other. So impossible is it by internal evidence to date and locate a mystical document. Sir W. Ramsay further criticizes somewhat severely Dr. Moffatt's *Literature of the New Testament*, while acknowledging its great learning and ability. Dr. J. H. Moulton's article on *The Gospel according to Paul* seeks to show that St. Paul was actually present during the last scenes of our Lord's life. The paper, which is an expansion of a lecture delivered at the Cambridge Wesley Society, is full of interest and suggestion, though the theory advocated needs careful examination. Dr. Stalker's *Studies in Conversion* include Thomas Halyburton and John Newton. Prof. Sayce's article on the *Jewish Temple in Elephantine* shows that 'as far back as the middle of the seventh century B.C. the ritual and prescriptions of the Levitical Law were observed in Egypt just as they were in the post-exilic temple of Jerusalem.' The bearing of this upon the dates of Deuteronomy and 'the Priestly Legislation' is obvious and important.

The Expository Times (July and August).—Dr. Kennedy's detailed account of the Codex Edinburgensis, a hitherto unknown MS. of the Old Testament, is interesting to others besides the scholars mainly concerned, Dr. A. R. Gordon, in an article on *Pioneers in the Study of Old Testament Poetry*, does justice to the memory of one too much forgotten in these days of advanced scholarship—Bishop Lowth. He was far in advance of his times, and sowed seed which is now springing up abundantly. The eschatological teaching of the Parables is brought out by Rev. R. M. Lithgow, and Dr. J. S. Banks reviews Wobbermin's *Monismus and Monotheismus*. In the August number the opening article, after the Editor's notes, is by Rev. Arthur Hoyle, well known to many of our readers, on *The Objective Value of Prayer*. The paper is deeply spiritual and suggestive in its setting forth of the thought that 'there is something in us that can limit and confine the Deity, and our praying spirit sets God free, joins us to Him and Him to us, so that in this holy exercise the schism of the universe passes away, and in the possibility of the newly emerged unity God can move as He was not able heretofore.' Canon Driver publishes a Coronation Sermon, entitled *A Mirror for Rulers*. Archdeacon Allen's paper on a much-discussed subject, *Christ's Teaching on Divorce*, deserves careful attention. Our Lord's permissive sanction of divorce in special cases is here vindicated. Under the somewhat fanciful title, *The Palinode of the Pharisee*, Rev. E. Shillito describes 1 Cor. xiii. as a kind of passionate recantation of his earlier Pharisaism on the part of St. Paul.

The Moslem World (July).—The Rev. T. Bomford has found in the Punjab that converts from Islam are colder Christians than those who had been Hindus, and lacking both in spirituality and in devotion to

Christ. He thinks the real explanation is to be found not merely in the character of the men or their religions, but in these two things combined with the methods taken to win them. The Hindu is not to be drawn by mere argument. His heart must be reached as well as his head. The missionary, therefore, gives emphasis to the character of Christ, His promises, and the spiritual side of the religion. The Mohammedan is drawn over when his intellect tells him that Christianity has more reasons on its side than his own religion. He cares nothing for the spiritual teaching of the Bible, but studies it to find arguments in support of his new creed. Mr. Bomford thinks that too much stress has been laid on intellectual argument, and that more attention should be given to the moral and spiritual line of attack.

AMERICAN

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The July number opens with an article especially appropriate for the month in which the first Universal Races Congress was held. A better title than *The World Person* might have been found, but Dr. Raymond L. Bridgman holds that all the world taken together has a personality which came to self-consciousness in 1907 at the second Hague Conference. Without accepting in all details the analogy not only suggested, but worked out, one may thankfully agree that mankind is beginning to realize its unity. 'Up to the present era the history of the human race has not been the history of a unit.' Nations have had histories, but there are signs that instead of recording 'what one nation did and then another,' history is entering upon a new and better phase, and henceforth will take account of 'the organized life of mankind as a whole.' Dr. B. B. Warfield translates an extract from a Dutch handbook of theology by Dr. Bavinck, dealing with *Christological Movements in the Nineteenth Century*. An instructive survey of critical theories leads up to the conclusion that 'rude and violent handling of the problem of Christ' has resulted in 'a notable reaction.' It is now seen 'with new clearness that the historical Jesus and the apostolical Christ cannot be divided after the fashion in which biblical criticism at first imagined they might.' In a suggestive though somewhat slight paper on *Historical Facts and Religious Faith*, the Rev. Austin Rice urges that, in our anxiety to establish religion upon lasting inner supports, there is danger of 'underestimating the necessary part which historical facts play in religious development.'

Harvard Theological Review.—In a lengthy and striking paper on *Schopenhauer's Contact with Theology* Mr. W. M. Salter, B.D., succeeds in showing 'how little our ordinary views of pessimism agree with the view of Schopenhauer.' By quotations from the original every position is established, and it becomes clear that Schopenhauer has been judged by many who had only a superficial acquaintance with his teaching. 'To some, pessimism means that life has no meaning. Not so to him. . . . In the light of what I have been saying and quoting we shall hardly call him an absolute pessimist.' One sentence quoted is: 'I believe that when

death closes our eyes, we stand in a light of which our sunlight is only the shadow.' The Rev. Henry W. Clark, the well-known English author, contributes an excellent paper on *Rational Mysticism and New Testament Christianity*. The first part of his title necessitates the proof that 'the mystical experience is reasonable, although not a process of reason, nor something put in place of a process of reason. It does not interpret the system of things—it completes it.' Then mysticism, when rightly understood, is seen to 'demand the New Testament evangelicalism.' Through the pursuit of the mystical experience the Christian comes to see 'all the vaster significance in the great New Testament truths of sin, and faith, and incarnation, and Christ, and Cross.' Dr. G. F. Moore gives an interesting account of *The Covenanters of Damascus*—a hitherto unknown sect. It is based on Dr. Schechter's translation of and commentary on a Hebrew text recovered in 1896 from the Genizah of an old synagogue at Fostat, near Cairo.

Princeton Theological Review for July is an English Bible number. It contains four able articles: one on *The Making of the English Bible*, another on *Its Influence on English Literature*, another on *Its Relation to the Spiritual Life of the English-speaking People*, whilst a fourth furnishes *Notes on the History of the Authorised Version in Scotland*. The article entitled *The Incarnation and the Atonement* contains an exposition of a recent utterance of Prof. Royce of Harvard, on *What is Vital in Christianity?* The eminence of the Harvard professor makes his answer to this all-important question the more notable and valuable. An influential school to-day teaches that what is vital in Christianity is simply the spiritual attitude and the life inculcated by Jesus and His example. Evangelical teachers rightly emphasize as cardinal the divine-human redemption wrought out for man by Christ. Prof. Royce's able vindication of the supreme value of the latter is worth the careful study and amplification it here receives from Willis J. Beecher.

Methodist Review (New York) (July and August).—The opening article on *The Christ of History and Religion* is an echo of the 'Jesus or Christ?' discussion current in this country last year. We doubt whether any good end is answered by such attempts as Dr. Eckmann's to deal with *The Humour of the Bible*, especially when he comes to speak of 'delicious bits of our Lord's humour' and His 'quaint' characterizations. The associations indicated by these phrases are modern, and some of them are distinctly American. Though in the mind of the writer of this article there is nothing but reverence, his mode of treatment of a sacred subject would in some hands be perilous. Other articles are on *Mark Twain as a Preacher*, *Social Theories and Christianity's Program* (sic), and a very suggestive one by G. B. Smyth is entitled *Contributions of Oriental Churches to World-Wide Christianity*.

Methodist Review (Nashville) (July).—Dr. Alexander Maclaren receives a deservedly high tribute as *The Prince of Modern Preachers* in an article by W. Harrison. Bishop Fitzgerald enumerates, among *The Credentials of the Preacher*, the leading of Providence, the action of the Church, and the

baptism of the Holy Spirit. A timely article on *Nietzsche*, by J. C. Granbery, explains to some extent the influence of that erratic teacher of genius. Amongst articles on distinctively Methodist subjects we have read with interest that on *Methodist Episcopacy*. The writer, C. J. Nugent, shows, what should never have been doubted, that neither Wesley nor the Methodist fathers ever believed in 'the three orders,' or in the distinction between presbyter and bishop as one of kind. It is a matter of administration only. Other good articles are *The Forces Hostile to Christianity in the Orient*—why cannot the writer be content to say 'the East?'—*The Duty of the Church in relation to her Colleges*, and *The Ethical Element in the Talmud*.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) (July) is a 'Baptist World Alliance Number,' and it is a very good one. Dr. Clifford writes on the attitude of Baptists to Catholicism—Roman and Greek, President Mullins on *Baptists in the Modern World*, and other articles deal with *The Origin and Principles of the Anabaptists* and *The Moral Significance of Baptism*.

FOREIGN

The article of chief interest to Bible students and to theologians in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (July–September), gives an elaborate and lucid account of the Jewish conceptions in the time of Christ with respect to the original state and fall of man. The Apocryphal writings and the works of Philo and Josephus are ransacked for material, and all the recent works on the subject in German, French, and English are laid under contribution. It is a most valuable summary of current knowledge and discussion, and will be of special service to students of St. Paul. The two chief 'bulletins' deal in twenty-six pages with recent works in ethics, and in more than fifty pages with the vast literature of the Science of Religions. Nowhere else can so wide and so careful a survey be obtained of current thought and search on these important subjects in Europe and America.

In the first number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August, there is a critical appreciation of Mr. H. G. Wells by M. Firmin Roz, who says that Mr. Wells's imagination has 'as many complaisances for the possible as his observation has severity for the real.' He finds in his writings 'a literary equivalent to the passionate politics and the oratorical violences inaugurated by a Winston Churchill and especially by a Lloyd George,' and perceives that 'a new generation, a little brutalizing, is intervening in the destinies of England.' In the same number M. George Fonségive begins what promises to be an important series of articles on Contemporary Ethics.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The July number contains an article on *The Divine World-Order*, by the late Dr. Gustav Class, Professor of Philosophy at Erlangen. It is incomplete, for 'death took the pen from his hand as his gaze was turned from this imperfect order to that perfect

world which he now beholds.' The fragment contains the sentence: 'He has founded the world on love.' Reasons for this statement are found in the support given by God to the human spirit in its struggle with nature. The divine action is regarded as consisting not so much in the repression of evil as in the strengthening of good. Therein is the divine love to man made manifest. Dr. Wilhelm Loewenthal contributes an appreciation of Tolstoi and traces an analogy between his career and that of Goethe's *Faust*. 'Tolstoi-Faust' began early his search for truth, and confesses, at the end of his studies, that he is 'no wiser than before.' He plunges into the stream of the world, tastes its pleasures and is exposed to its perils. From the bustle of life he retires into the country, but in its quiet the problem presses: What is the purpose of my life? Tolstoi-Faust is tormented with doubt and is tempted to commit suicide, and although for him the message 'Christ is risen' had not the same significance as for Goethe's Faust, yet for him also Christ became the ideal of humanity, and to live the Christ-life meant 'to live morally, reasonably, and naturally.' Dr. Loewenthal accounts for the contrasts in the career of Tolstoi by distinguishing between what he wrote as 'a poet' and as 'a preacher.' His teaching cannot be understood apart from a careful study of Russian conditions of life which provoked him to revolt. The moral perfecting of the individual for the sake of the community—that is for Tolstoi the significance of life.' He himself says: 'I live to fulfil the will of Him who has given me life. It is His will that I should develop my soul to the highest degree of perfection in love, and that by so doing I should contribute to the establishment of harmony amongst men and all creatures.'

Theologische Rundschau.—Recent works on *The Acts of the Apostles* and *the Apostolic Age* are reviewed by Dr. Walter Bauer in the July number. Considerable space is given to the views of Maurenbrecher, to whose earlier work, *From Nazareth to Golgotha*, a sequel, entitled *From Jerusalem to Rome*, has recently been published. Maurenbrecher attempts to account for the origin of Christianity by the transference of non-Judaic myths concerning a Saviour to the historical personality of Jesus. Needless to say, the result of a criticism, which minimizes nothing that can be put down to Maurenbrecher's credit, is that his explanation is insufficient. Some of the hypotheses are said to be unsupported by evidence and others are dismissed as improbable. Maurenbrecher has skilfully woven an ingenious theory, it is even described as 'brilliant,' but that quality is of little account if that which is woven is 'too fine for wear.' A work on *The Position of Slaves in the Early Church*, by A. Steinmann, is praised for its accurate description of the condition of slaves in the non-Christian communities. But exception is rightly taken to the author's conclusion that Christianity not only failed to abolish slavery, but also did not demand its abolition. Bauer urges that Jesus did not denounce slavery, because the lot of slaves among the Jews was 'relatively good,' and because he treated the subject indirectly, addressing such sayings as 'all ye are brethren' to audiences containing slaves. Especially did His insistence on love make the thought of slavery impossible. Agreement is expressed with the author's views concerning the effect on the amelioration of the

condition of slaves of Christian teaching concerning the dignity of labour and concerning the claim of slaves to be admitted to religious privileges on an equality with other Christian disciples. *Foreign Missions* is the subject assigned to Pastor Glaue of Giessen. A tribute is paid to the memory of Dr. G. Warneck, who died in December last, and whose *History of Protestant Missions* is in its ninth edition. Interest is roused by what is said about a book by G. Simon on *Islam and Christianity*; it deals especially with their relative progress in regions where animistic religions are found. The writer has laboured for eleven years in Sumatra. He passes an unmistakably adverse judgement upon those who claim that to convert heathens to Mohammedanism is an advance morally and religiously.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 15 Dr. Rudolf Knopf reviews a recent booklet by Professor Harnack dealing with *The Problem of 2 Thessalonians*. Harnack's solution, advanced against those who deny the Pauline authorship, is that 1 Thess. was written to the whole Church, but 2 Thess. to the Jewish Christians in the community. The existence of such a minority is proved by Acts xvii. 4. The first Epistle would not satisfy them, because its horizon was that of the converts to Christianity from heathenism; the second Epistle gave attention to the position of the Jewish Christians, and read from this point of view cannot be said to be un-Pauline. Knopf raises some difficulties, but does not reject the hypothesis. It is regarded as well worthy of consideration and as a valuable contribution to the solving of a difficult problem. Dr. Gottlob Siedel has written a book on *The Mysticism of Tauler*. He has the courage to add another to the numerous definitions of Mysticism, which he explains as 'the uprising (*aufleben*) of another subject in man.' The obvious criticism is that, according to this definition 'ecstasies, pneumatics, and regenerate persons are mystics.' In No. 16 the German edition of Mr. J. M. Robertson's *The Gospel-Myths* is severely criticized by Prof. Martin Dibelius of Berlin. Robertson is condemned for disregarding the first principle in the study of comparative religion, namely that the hypothesis of borrowing is to be resorted to only when simpler explanations fail. Analogy is not genealogy; parallels are misused because the author has prejudged the issue and regards Christianity as patchwork. Dr. W. E. Mayer writes, with hearty appreciation, of Prof. F. B. Jevons' booklet on *The Idea of God in Early Religions*. Amongst the details singled out for approval are the distinction drawn between religion as social, whereas magic is anti-social, and the statement that in religion 'we must recognize not merely fear, but some trust and confidence.'

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